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JOHNSON
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DEIGHTON





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JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.



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(Johnson's Lives of the Poets)

Johnson, Samuel

Milton

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

K. Deighton

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London

Macmillan and Co., Limited

New York: The Macmillan Company

1906

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First Edition, 1892.
Reprinted 1893, 1899 (twice), 1900, 1906.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION,	vii
LIFE OF MILTON,	1
NOTES,	75
INDEX TO NOTES,	136

INTRODUCTION.

JOHNSON'S Lives of the Poets were issued between 1779 and 1781. His original undertaking was merely to furnish short biographical prefaces to an edition of the poets from Cowley downwards, which in 1777 certain booksellers contemplated publishing. The task was one, says Macaulay (*Biography of Johnson*), "for which he was pre-eminently qualified. His knowledge of the literary history of England since the Restoration was unrivalled. That knowledge he had derived partly from books, and partly from sources which had long been closed; from old Grub Street traditions; from the talk of forgotten poetasters and pamphleteers who had long been lying in parish vaults; from the recollections of such men as Gilbert Walmesley, who had conversed with the wits of Button; Cibber, who had mutilated the plays of two generations of dramatists; Orrery, who had been admitted to the society of Swift: and Savage, who had rendered services of no very honourable kind to Pope. The biographer therefore sate down to his task with a mind full of matter. He had at first intended to give a paragraph to every minor poet, and only four or five pages to the greatest name. But the flood of anecdote and criticism overflowed the narrow channel.

The work, which was originally meant to consist only of a few sheets, swelled into ten volumes, small volumes, it is true, and not closely printed. . . . The Lives of the Poets are, on the whole, the best of Johnson's works. The narratives are as entertaining as any novel. The remarks on life and on human nature are eminently shrewd and profound. The criticisms are often excellent, and even when grossly and provokingly unjust, well deserve to be studied. For, however erroneous they may be, they are never silly. They are the judgments of a mind trammelled by prejudice and deficient in sensibility, but vigorous and acute. They, therefore, generally contain a portion of valuable truth which deserves to be separated from the alloy ; and, at the very worst, they mean something, a praise to which much of what is called criticism in our time has no pretensions." As to the style of the work, Macaulay continues, "Since Johnson had been at ease in his circumstances he had written little and talked much. When, therefore, he, after a lapse of years, resumed his pen, the mannerism which he had contracted while he was in the constant habit of elaborate composition was less perceptible than formerly ; and his diction frequently had a colloquial ease which it had formerly wanted. The improvement may be discerned by a skilful critic in the *Journey to the Hebrides*, and in the *Lives of the Poets* is so obvious that it cannot escape the most careless reader."

Foremost in the rank of English poets of course stood Milton ; and if his life as written by Johnson is not among the best of the series, its inferiority lies not in want of completeness or thoroughness of research. To its author the task was no doubt less congenial than in

the case of any of the other great poets with whom he had to deal. A bigoted and extreme Tory, Johnson had to criticize the principles and political actions of one who held doctrines as extreme, if not as bigoted, in the opposite direction. A High Churchman of the most unbending type, he was called upon to pass in review writings violently latitudinarian, schismatic, and, as the *Treatise of Christian Doctrine* shows, scarcely to be reconciled with any form of received religion. Think of the horror and loathing with which Johnson must have regarded *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, *Eikonoklastes*, *Defence of the People of England*, tractates in which kingly power is lanned with curses of malignant fierceness, in which Charles, the beloved idol of Johnson's veneration, is insulted, harried, scourged, his divinity ridiculed, his execution sanctified, his downfall made the subject of a song of triumph! How should Johnson not shudder at the *History of Reformation*, the *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, denunciations of everything sacerdotal that from his early boyhood had been cherished as reverend, holy, sealed with the seal of God's institution and upholding! To him the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, which even to many of Milton's fellow-thinkers was a stumbling-block, must have read as blasphemous arrogance; the *Areopagitica*, in whose trumpet tones liberty of thought and speech is proclaimed as an indefeasible right, probably sounded as a blast of revolutionary special-pleading and unbridled license of argument; while could he have read the long-lost *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, with its Pantheistic Materialism, its heresy as to the Decalogue, its justification of Polygamy, it would no doubt have been branded

as the ravings of lunacy, or the inspiration of Belial. "Fair is foul and foul is fair" might express Johnson's estimate of Milton's tenets, political and theological. The gods of the poet are the fiends of the critic. If, therefore, in the *Life* he could not even hope to be impartial, if here and again he lets fall an unworthy gibe, belittles Milton's aims and occupations, makes light of his sufferings and dangers, exaggerates his failings, questions the sincerity of his political faith, insinuates acts of baseness, colours as magnanimous clemency the mixture of policy and disdain which left the poet untouched amid the persecution and proscription which followed upon the Restoration; if the critic's appraisal of the poet is sometimes marred by a distorted estimate of the man, and a standard applied by which he would not have measured anyone else: we may yet admit that honesty of intention and a conscientious belief that he was serving the cause of truth were at the bottom of his severest strictures. Political and religious prejudice, however, was not the only difficulty in Johnson's path. Of Milton's cast of poetry, whether in its lighter or its more serious forms, the critic was by nature but poorly fitted to judge. With didactic, narrative, or satirical verse, he was at home. Where loftier flights were in question, his imagination failed to follow. His criticisms of the dramatic powers of Shakespeare, of the epic powers of Milton, are wholly inadequate: and from one who laid down as an undeniable proposition that during the part of the seventeenth century and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, English poetry had been constant progress of improvement, we should be fo

to expect that Milton's splendour of diction, his varied music and sonorous rhythm, should be gauged with fitting measurement. Yet his *Life of Milton* is one which we could ill spare. The narrative is vivid and striking, the tone is for the most part manly and straightforward, the reflections are frequently just and apposite. It is, moreover, the portrait of a very great and very good man drawn by one who also was great and good. It is a story of struggle, distress, and suffering told by one who himself bore through life a heavy burden of trouble with scarcely less sublimity of patience and not less undaunted fortitude. Congeniality of trial and congeniality of endurance helped, we may well believe, to compel an admiration not too willingly bestowed; and if a fiercely-burning antagonism of principle often prompted to undue severity of judgment, a generous pride in the glory of his fellow-countryman bade concede such a tribute of reverence that in the author of *Paradise Lost* the friend of regicides seems forgotten, if not forgiven.

Of literary judgments in this *Life*, the remarks upon *Lucius* are more specific than upon any other of Milton's works. They are also more illiberal, and more indicative of Johnson's inability for the higher criticism. With readers of mature taste they will go for little, or rather will provoke a smile of amused surprise. But upon the student not as yet capable of forming an independent and trustworthy opinion, they may have an effect which it seems advisable to anticipate by an examination based upon sounder canons of criticism than those followed by Johnson. As an antidote to the poison, Masson's analysis will be effectual. His positions are as follows: "(1) It is a sheer assumption that Milton offered the

poem as an utterance of passion, or intense personal grief. . . The intimacy and affection [between Milton and King] were considerable, but less perhaps than what bound Milton to other friends of his youth, of whom he has left no similar commemoration. They were certainly less than the intimacy and affection that bound him to one other friend of his youth, of whom he *has* left various commemorations. The bosom-friend of Milton's youth, his very friend of friends from his boyhood to the time of his Italian journey, was that Charles Diodati to whom are addressed two of his Latin Familiar Epistles, the First and Sixth of his Latin Elegies, and one Italian sonnet, and whose death, as premature as King's, and but one year later, gave occasion to perhaps the most remarkable of all Milton's Latin poems, *Epitaphium tamenis*. Only the accident that these pieces to and about Diodati are in Latin and Italian has prevented the act of Milton's paramount affection for that young half-Italian from being generally known, and has led to the idea that the unique friend of Milton's youth was Edward King of Christ's. The death of that young scholar, so melancholy in its mode, did indeed move Milton, as it must have moved many. Here was one fine young life cut short, recklessly cut short, when thousands of coarser lives were spared, and when England and the Church of England had need that the best only should be prolonged. The recollection of the face and voice of Edward King, and of hours spent in his society, would return at the news, and would mingle with the keen imagination of the last scene, when one meek praying figure was marked on the deck of the sinking ship, resigned amid the shrieks, the mad hurry,

and the gurgling waters. What more natural than that Milton should throw his feelings on the event, and the whole train of thought which it suggested, into artistic form in a memorial form? This is precisely what *Lucidas* is. It is the same kind of tribute from a poet to the memory of a friend as a bust, with pedestal and bas-reliefs, would have been from a sculptor, or some thoughtful picture, of a few figures placed in a fit landscape or sea-view, would have been from a painter. Personal feeling is present; but it blends with, and passes into, the feeling of the artist thinking of his subject. (2) Johnson's criticism would abolish, by implication, all poetry whatsoever. In that crude sense of what is 'natural' which his criticism begs, all poetry is unnatural. No poem, even of passion, can possibly be 'natural' in the sense of being a record of the exact mental procedure consentaneous with, or appropriate to, the immediate moment of the passion. If passion 'runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions,' if passion 'plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Minceius,' neither does passion perform such simple acts of literary art as the construction of clear sentences, the formation of lines of metre, or the invention of rhymes. Grief, in its first act, in poets as in other people, consumes itself in 'Ohs' and 'Ahs,' in sobs and agitated gestures, in dull numbed musings, incoherent verbal bursts, paces of the chamber through the weary night. To poets, however, as soon as there is a lull of comparative tranquillity, and aiding perhaps to bring on that lull, there comes the use of those artifices of expression which are with them hardly artifices any longer, but the very habits of their minds.

Then is produced the lay of the occasion, the song or longer poem, recording the grief indeed, and even renewing and deepening it, but weaving into the grief all the beauty of cognate story and meditation that it will bear. True, there will still be gradations of apparent closeness to the primary moment or remoteness from it, according either to the intensity of the original grief or to the poet's acquired habits of artistic working. Simplest of all, least removed of all from the original moment of feeling, and therefore most likely in some poets, and most natural in seeming to most readers, will be the direct lyric of sorrow in a few passionate stanzas. Burns's *Highland Mary*, and other songs of his, are examples. But there may be memorial poems, tributes to a recent or past personal grief, which shall be as true and natural, and yet be of more extensive design and more complex feature. These may contain trains of varied thought and phantasy which the original feeling has originated, and therefore may claim as its own; they may be speculative and occult, or figurative and mythological, as the habits of the poet's thinking may determine; even Mincius and Arethuse need not be absent, nor rough satyrs and fauns with cloven heel. Witness Shelley's *Adonais* to the memory of Keats. Or witness Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. What is that chief of memorial poems in the English tongue but an aggregation of lyrics in which, though one deep and enduring personal feeling moved to them all and pervades the all, 'remote allusions and obscure opinions,' beyond the learning of Johnson's time, are plentifully interwoven, snatches of story occur and recur, and all the science and metaphysics of the time become relevant to one death

Now Milton's *Lycidas* is not, and does not profess to be, a poem of such personal sorrow, by many degrees, as *In Memoriam*. Nay, as Edward King was not a Keats, it is presumably less a poem of personal sorrow than *Adonais*. All the more are the traces of deliberate and conscious art which are visible in it to be regarded as consistent with the poet's actual kind and amount of feeling when he wrote it, and his true intention. There *are* such traces. Twice in the body of the poem, as we have seen, Milton restrains or checks himself, as having passed somewhat the strict bounds of the strain in which he had begun; and at the close there is an epilogue, in his own name, characterising the poem as a 'Doric lay,' in which 'the tender stops of various quills' had been touched, and also hinting that the artist is moving on to other themes, which will require a different treatment.

(3) One established, and indeed prevalent, artifice in the poetry of Milton's day was the artifice of the pastoral form, and Johnson's criticism exhibits an utter obtuseness to the real nature, meaning, and power of this artifice. 'They never drove a-field and they had no flocks to batten!' No, nor did Theocritus or Virgil ever keep sheep, or pipe on oaten flutes beneath the beech-trees. Nor did the Portuguese pastoral poets do the like, nor Samazaro and the Italians. Nor was Spenser a real Colin Clout, with Sidney, and Raleigh, and Shakespeare, and all the other poets, or other eminent Englishmen of the day, surrounding him as actual shepherds, called Astrophel, and Cuddie, and Willie, and Thomalin! What then? We know what they meant. It is one thing to hold that the pastoral form might still suit our modern times, and to wish that

it were preserved ; it is another to understand what the form was in the hands of those who did practise it, and to see its importance in the past history of our literature. Spenser and the other pastoralists would have smiled in scorn at the notion that the pastoral should be an exhibition of real shepherd-life, of the thoughts and manners of real shepherds. With them the pastoral form was a device, just as metre and rhyme were devices, but in some respects of larger consequence, --for distancing *themselves* from the ordinary and prosaic, and enabling them to live and move mentally in a more poetic air. It was *themselves*, with all their experiences and acquired ideas and feelings, that they flung into an imaginary Arcadian world to be shepherds there, and, under the guise of that imaginary life, express their own real feelings, their most intimate experiences, and their thoughts about affairs, in monologue or dialogue. Defensible or not originally, desirable or not among ourselves, as we may think this artifice of pastoralism, this device for poets of an imaginary removal of themselves into an Arcadian land in order to think under Arcadian conditions, it is gross ignorance not to know how largely it once prevailed, and what a wealth of old poetry we owe to it. From the youth of Spenser, himself the pastoralist-in-chief, on through the lives of the next generation, or from 1580 to 1640, much of the finest English poetry is in the pastoral form. During that period the word 'shepherd' was an accepted synonym in England for the word 'poet.' They all, the finest of them all, 'drove a field' together, and 'battened their flocks' in verse, though they had no flocks to batten. Milton, an admirer of Spenser, and describable as the

truest of the Spenserians till he taught the world a higher than the Spenserian in the Miltonic, employed the pastoral form in his *Lycidas*, as he had employed it already, though less decidedly, in others of his poems. He threw the story of his acquaintance with Edward King and of the sad death of that youth by drowning, and all the train of thought about the state of England which that death suggested, into the form of a pastoral lament for that shepherd, conceived as spoken by himself as a surviving shepherd. And who would wish now that he had done otherwise? What would a simple narrative of the shipwreck, or a few stanzas of direct regret, have been in comparison with the poem we now read? It is better than any memorial bust with bas-reliefs, better than any memorial picture. It tells the facts with the minutest fidelity, but it gives them in the setting of one long mood of Milton's mind as he mused over them. And it is this setting that has made the facts immortal. If we now remember Edward King of Christ's College at all, or know that there was ever such a youth in the world, is it not owing to Milton's monody?" Of Johnson's criticism of the diction, the rhymes, and the numbers, Masson observes, "The ear of the eighteenth century, one can see, if this is to be taken as the opinion of Johnson's contemporaries, must have been vitiated in proportion to the degradation of its notion of poesy. For fastidious beauty of diction, and musical finish of versification, *Lycidas* is hardly rivalled. The art of the verse is a study in itself. The lines are mostly the common Iambics of five feet, but every now and then there is an exquisitely managed variation of a short line of three Iambi. Then the interlinking and

intertwining of the rhymes, sometimes in pairs, sometimes in threes, or even fives, and at all varieties of intervals, from that of the contiguous couplet to that of an unobserved chime or stanza of some length, are positive perfection. Occasionally, too, in the poem there is a line that does not rhyme; and in every such case, though the rhyme is never missed by the reader's ear, in so much music is the line imbedded, yet a delicate artistic reason may be detected or fancied for its formal absence. The first line of all is one instance. We shall leave the reader to find out the others." Of the "grosser fault" with which Johnson accuses Milton in introducing St. Peter, Masson remarks, "Lastly [of the three figures that pass in succession across the visionary stage], in still more mystic and awful guise, comes St. Peter, the guardian of that Church of Christ for the service of which King had been destined,—the apostle to whom the Great Shepherd himself had given it in charge 'Feed my sheep.' Not out of place even *his* grave figure in this peculiar pastoral. For has he not lost one of his truest under-shepherds, lost him too at a time when such an under-shepherd could ill be spared, when false shepherds, hireling shepherds, knowing nothing of the real craft they professed, were more numerous than ever, and the flocks were perishing for lack of care, or by ravages of the stealthy wolf?" But it is neither unnatural nor uncharitable to believe that in his judgment of this poem Johnson's fairness has been largely warped by his theological bias. In *Paradise Lost*, it is true, forms of doctrine are put forward which ill accord with those held by his critic. But they are not put forward in a controversial spirit, they do not affect contemporary

events, they do not call in question the principles of church government and organization which Johnson held with so stern an obstinacy. In *Lycidas*, Laud and his party are held up to an execration which to Johnson must have seemed something like blasphemy; and had the celebrated vision of St. Peter been omitted, it may be fairly questioned whether the critic would have found scope for his indignation as to the want of true feeling which he objects against the poet. Indeed, the insincerity, or at all events the inconsistency, of his denunciations regarding the form of the poem may be seen in the fact, pointed out by Hallam,* that Johnson himself "had in an earlier part of his life selected the tenth eclogue of Virgil for peculiar praise; the tenth eclogue, which, beautiful as it is, belongs to the same class of pastoral and personal allegory, and requires the same sacrifice of reasoning criticism as the *Lycidas* itself. . . . Our sympathy with the fate of *Lycidas* may not be much stronger than for the desertion of Gallus by his mistress; but many poems will yield an exquisite pleasure to the imagination that produce no emotion in the heart; or none at least except through associations independent of the subject."

Upon *Camus*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, Johnson's criticisms are at once more favourable and more just; while if those upon *Paradise Lost* sometimes betray an incapacity to appraise Milton's diction and versification, they are on the whole worthy of their subject, and but little alloyed with political and religious prejudice. To the objections urged at some length against Milton's inconsistency in making his angels at one time material

* *Literary History*, iii. 270, 1.

and at another immaterial, Hallam thus replies* : "Johnson thinks that Milton should have secured the consistency of this poem by keeping immateriality out of sight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But here the subject forbid him to preserve consistency, if indeed there be inconsistency in supposing a rapid assumption of form by spiritual beings. For though the instance that Johnson alleges of inconsistency in Satan's animating a toad was not necessary, yet his animation of the serpent was absolutely indispensable. And the same has been done by other poets, who do not scruple to suppose their gods, their fairies or devils, or their allegorical personages, inspiring thoughts, and even uniting themselves with the soul, as well as assuming all kinds of form, though their natural appearance is not always anthropomorphic. And, after all, Satan does not animate a real toad, but takes the shape of one. 'Squat like a toad close by the ear of Eve.' But he does enter a real serpent, so that the instance of Johnson is ill chosen. If he had mentioned the serpent, every one would have seen that the identity of the animal serpent with Satan is part of the original account."

One question, incidentally noticed by Johnson, the question whether Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, owed much to ancient or contemporary writings, has of late years been brought prominently into discussion by the claim especially made in behalf of the Dutch Vondel. Earlier criticism had discovered, as it thought, plagiarism various in kind from various sources. Voltaire, in 1727, suggested that the scheme of the poem might have been

* *Literary History*, iv. 239, 40, *f.n.*

derived from a Scriptural drama, entitled *Adamo*, by an Italian, Giovanni Battista Andreini; and in 1730 a Scotchman, William Lauder, published a volume to prove that Milton had ransacked modern and medieval literature for ideas and language. Lauder's charges were quickly exposed, and afterwards confessed to be for the most part forgeries. But the indebtedness of Milton continued to be a subject of discussion: the *Paraphrase of Genesis* by the Anglo-Saxon poet Caedmon being among the sources from which he was supposed to have drawn, while Todd, in his edition of the Poetical Works, gave a long list of Italian writers to whom by one person or another it was supposed that the poet had gone for his inspiration. Of late all these borrowings, the proofs of which are no proofs, have given place to the more definite and circumstantial charges of plagiarism from Vondel's *Lucifer*, which, first broached in England in Gosse's *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe*, 1875, were in 1885 elaborated in a volume, entitled *Milton and Vondel*, by a clergyman of the name of Edmundson. According to this work, the design, language, ideas, imagery, and character of *Paradise Lost* owe large debts not only to Vondel's *Lucifer*, but to an epic, written in 1662, to a long didactic poem, published in 1661, and to a tragedy in 1664, all by the same author. A patient and searching examination of the charges as thus arrayed will be found in Masson's Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, ii. pp. 145-64. This examination is of course too long to be followed throughout. But the gist of the conclusions, which seem to me unanswerable, may be given in two short extracts. "Most of the parallelisms," he says, p. 151, "more than nineteen-twentieths of them, I

may say at once, are disposed of at first sight by the simple consideration, already insisted on, of the hereditary character of the themes of the two poets, and the established tradition in the mind of Christendom of certain personages, incidents, and situations, as belonging to these themes by Biblical and prescriptive right. Lucifer, Beelzebub, Belial, Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael were common property; and if a poet introduced Lucifer or Beelzebub, Gabriel or Michael, into a poem, what could he do but make them look and speak, to the best of his ability, in conformity with general expectation? The Angelic Wars in Heaven, the rout of the Rebel Angels, their expulsion into Hell, their wingings thence upwards again through the spaces of the new starry Cosmos, the Ptolemaic constitution of this Cosmos, the infant Earth in the midst of it, and Adam and Eve on this earth in their Paradise of foliage and beauty: these also were common property; and, if any poet ventured on these subjects, he had similarly to conform to tradition and expectation in essentials, whatever variation of picturing or of wording his genius might enable him to effect in particulars." "Having given," he adds, pp. 163, 4, "some specimens of Mr. Edmundson's collection of parallelisms, I may add that I have not met in all the rest of the collection a single parallelism that could convince me of a direct use by Milton in his *Paradise Lost* of any passage in Vondel. My opinion, indeed, after considering all the parallelisms produced by Mr. Edmundson, is that it would be quite possible to maintain the extreme position that *Paradise Lost* would have been exactly the same as it is if Vondel's poems had never been written, or if Vondel himself had never

existed. That position, however, might be too extreme. Mr. Gosse thinks that Vondel's *Lucifer* was known to Milton; and Mr. Gosse's opinion on such a subject, taken along with the already explained historical probabilities of the case, ought to count for something. Let the vote, then, be that Milton did somehow contrive, amid the difficulties of his blindness, to superimpose upon all the mass of his previous readings from his youth onwards some new readings in the *Lucifer*, and in other poems, of his celebrated Dutch contemporary. That is all that is needed; and it is a very different speculation from Mr. Edmundson's. The matter of a man's reading, in any day or week of his life, does not remain distinct from his mind as already constituted, or only as something additional that his mind can thenceforth work upon; it is necessarily, like all his other new experiences, transmuted, there and then, into the very substance of his mind, modifying the very structure of his thinking faculty for all its future operations of reasoning, imagining, or whatever else. In this sense only,—that, when any mind is stirred, all its contents are stirred,—is there any worth whatever, I believe, in any theory of Milton's indebtedness to any particular author; and all speculations as to Milton's indebtedness to particular authors in any other and less honourable sense have in them, I believe, whether they know it or not, the transmitted taint of the wretched Lauder's, and are doomed inevitably to the fate that attended their prototype."

In the Notes, as well as in this Introduction, will be found abundant evidence of my obligations to Professor Masson's edition of Milton's *Poems* and to his *Life of Milton*.

To the latter work especially I owe a great deal more than can be shown by quotations; and I feel it to be something like an impertinence to express my admiration for the learning, research, accuracy, and completeness which mark its every page.

To my friend Mr. Maurice Macmillan I also owe my best thanks for the care with which, as in the case of my school editions of plays of Shakespeare, he has read the proof sheets, and for the many valuable suggestions he has been kind enough to make.

SUMMARY OF JOHNSON'S MILTON.

I. LIFE OF MILTON (pp. 1-50).

Milton's Family (pp. 1, 2), landed proprietors in Oxfordshire. His grandfather, a forest-keeper, a zealous Papist; his father, disinherited for changing his religion, a scrivener, skilful in music; his brother, Christopher, suffered as a Royalist, and knighted by James II.; his sister Anne, married Edward Philips; the poet, born in Bread Street, 1608.

Education (pp. 2-4).—Privately instructed by Thomas Young; at St. Paul's School by Mr. Gill; at Christ's College, Cambridge (1624-1632), taking B.A. in 1628 and M.A. in 1632. "Eminently skilled" in Latin at 16, but compositions inferior to those of Cowley.

Johnson.—His early works raise no great expectations.

Elegies (1625-6) show classic elegance. Left Cambridge with no kindly feelings, said to have suffered corporal punishment, and to have been expelled. Hostility to Cambridge shown in *Tractate* and *Way to remove Hirelings*. Went to Cambridge with intention to enter Church, but refused to do so because of the oath of servitude.

Johnson.—Thoughts of obedience to rules raised his indignation.

Residence at Horton (pp. 4-6), 1632-8, extensive reading of Latin and Greek. *Comus* (1634) acted by Earl of Bridgewater's family at Ludlow. *Lycidas* (1637), elegy on death of Mr. King, displays acquaintance with Italian writers and malignity to the Church. *Arcades*, used as part of a dramatic entertainment.

Travels (pp. 6-8), under Sir H. Wotton's directions; visited Paris (met Grotius), Florence for two months (his compositions applauded), Sienna, Rome (kindly received and praised by learned and great), Naples (met Manso, patron of Tasso).

Johnson.—All his writings show a lofty and steady confidence in himself, and perhaps some contempt of others. He rarely bestows praise.

Political affairs prevented him from going on to Sicily and Greece. Returning he visited Rome, Florence, Lucca, Venice, and Geneva. *Epitaphium Damonis* in honour of his friend Diodati.

Milton as a Schoolmaster (pp. 8-11, 16).

(a) In St. Bride's Churchyard, teaching his sister's sons (1638).

(b) In Aldersgate Street, taking more boys (1639).

Johnson criticises the suggested cause of Milton's return to England, defends him as a schoolmaster, doubts the story of wonders performed at his school, compares his plan to Cowley's, advocates the study of history, truth, and reason in preference to external nature, declares Socrates opposed to Milton as a teacher, approves of the teaching of religion, and of Milton's example to his pupils.

(c) In the Barbican (1645-7).

For a time he sheltered his wife's relations. Philips tries to prove that Milton was not a schoolmaster by profession, and that he had intended to become a soldier. Johnson replies with sarcasm.

Controversial Writings (pp. 11-15, 17-23).

(a) *Religion*. *Treatise on Reformation* (1641), intended to help the Puritans. Bishop Hall published *A Humble Remonstrance* in defence of Episcopacy. Six ministers (Smeectymnuus) answered Hall (1641). Bishop Usher attempted a *Confutation* of Smeectymnuus. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641) was Milton's reply to Usher. The lengthy title displays "puritanical savageness of manners."

1642. *The Reason of Church Government* and two more pamphlets.

Johnson.—He confidently but unostentatiously shows his high opinion of his own powers.

In one pamphlet Milton defends himself from the charge of being "vomited from the University." His language is offensive and malignant.

(b) *Marriage and Divorce*. Marriage (1643) with Mary Powell, who left him after a month. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer* (1644); *Tetrachordon* (1645).

Prosecution by the Assembly of Divines and general contempt shown to his doctrines turned Milton against the Presbyterians. Reunion with his wife contrived by her friends.

(c) *Liberty of Printing*. *Areopagitica* advocates liberty of printing. Johnson gives reasons against it. *Allegro* and *Penseroso* were published in 1645.

(d) *The King's Death*. A *Treatise* justifying the king's death; *Remarks* on Ormond's Articles of Peace; *Iconoclastes*, an attack on *Icon Basilike*. Salmasius published *Defensio Regis* (1649) by order of Charles II. Milton's *Defensio Populi* (1651) replied, ridiculing the Latin of Salmasius. Milton's pamphlet was the more popular. Salmasius died before his reply was completed. Milton received £1000, and though his sight was failing, he continued to be Cromwell's Latin secretary, and to engage in controversy.

His first wife died (1653). Second marriage (1656). Second wife died "within a year."

Schemes (pp. 23-27).

- (a) A Latin Dictionary, left unfinished.
- (b) A History of England, stopped at the Conquest.
- (c) An Epic Poem, resulted in *Paradise Lost*. Johnson gives copies of two plans left in manuscript. Blindness could not obstruct his power of invention. The indulgence of his fancy was a solace to his solitude in blindness.

Two pamphlets against the Clergy (1658).

Restoration (pp. 27-31). *Ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*. *Notes on a Sermon*, answered by *No Blind Guides*. The Restoration drove him into hiding. His *Defence* burnt by the hangman. Not mentioned in the exceptions to the act of oblivion. Burnet thinks he was forgotten. Prosecuted,—a tradition says he was saved by Davenant. In custody till November. Removed to Jewin Street. Married a third time. Being either prudent or grateful, he offered no opposition to the new settlement. *Accidence*

commenced Grammar (1661). Elwood the Quaker engaged by Milton to read Latin. Johnson discusses the Italian pronunciation.

The last residence of Milton, in Artillery Walk.

Paradise Lost (pp. 32-40). Original design unknown, first conception was a dramatic work. Progress interrupted by private studies and state affairs. Philips says he composed most freely in winter. Milton's *Elegies* suggest the spring. Johnson describes and discusses the belief in the dependence of the soul upon seasons, the degeneracy of nature, and climate. He thinks Milton's belief not entirely unreasonable. Richardson suggests that Milton's poetical faculty acted spasmodically. Johnson disbelieves his account of Milton's methods. Internal evidence gives few indications of the times when the parts of *P.L.* were written. The third book refers to his blindness, the seventh to the Restoration. A reference to his treatment after the Restoration is quoted and criticised.

In the Plague year Milton retired to Chalfont. Here Elwood suggested *Paradise Regained*. Next year *Paradise Lost* was licensed for publication.

Account of the editions and sales down to 1690.

Obstacles:—The Stuart Court, the paucity of readers, the ignorance of traders, gentlemen and women, recent enmity to the author, newness of the versification, timidity of its admirers, few opportunities of advertisement. The Revolution brought popularity to *Paradise Lost*.

Milton's expedient to supply his lack of sight inflicted misery on his daughters, who were compelled to read books in many languages.

Closing Years (pp. 41-44). *History of England*, 1669-70, mutilated by the licenser. Style harsh and unpleasing. *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* followed. *Paradise Regained* was his "last poetical offspring" and his favourite. His high opinion of it is not shared by Johnson. The poet is entitled to admiration for condescending to write a manual of Logic (1672). *Treatise of True Religion*, a modestly written tract, advocating toleration to all except Papists, and recommending diligent perusal of the Scriptures. Reprint of juvenile poems. *Familiar Epistles* in Latin. A quiet death in 1674. Burial in St. Giles at Cripple-gate; a monument in the Abbey erected, after opposition, in Johnson's time.

Milton as a Man (pp. 44-48). Handsome in face, light hair, medium height, active in frame, eyes quick but not bright.

A severe student, moderate in appetite, passing his days of blindness with great regularity.

Devoted his estate to the service of Parliament, for a time neglected, then Latin Secretary at a salary, was paid for political writings.

A reader of all learned and polite languages, highly skilled in Latin and Italian, fond of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley.

A Calvinist in early life, then changeable, thinking rather to condemn than to approve. With profound belief in Providence he displayed no visible worship, public or private. Johnson condemns his neglect of family prayer.

"An acrimonious and surly republican," opposed monarchy as not being frugal. Johnson attributes

this to envy, petulance, and pride. His arbitrary rule at home did not correspond with his professed love of liberty. He seemed to look on woman with contempt.

Family History down to 1690 (pp. 48-50).

II. POETICAL WORKS (pp. 50-74).

Juvenile Poems (pp. 50-56).

(a) *Italian*, have been commended.

(b) *Latin*, "lusciously elegant," delightful rather for beauty of verse than for originality or vigour.

(c) *English*, show evidence of genius by being original, but this is their only excellence. Milton could not do little things with grace.

Lycidas, harsh diction, uncertain rhymes, unpleasing numbers, unnatural sentiments, destitute of nature and truth, of art and novelty. The meaning of the allegory is too uncertain and too remote. The pastoral is too commonplace to arouse sympathy. Sacred truths are mingled with trifling fiction and irreverently handled, though perhaps not consciously. No man who did not know Milton could read *Lycidas* with pleasure.

L'Allegro and *Il Penseroso*, "two noble efforts of imagination," always give pleasure to the reader. ✓ They are designed to show how every disposition of mind is attracted to that which will give it pleasure. The pleasure of the *cheerful* man and of the *pensive* man are delightfully contrasted, but perhaps melancholy can be distinguished in Milton's mirth.

Comus, "a drama in epic style, inelegantly splendid and tediously instructive," the greatest of the juvenile performances, displays Milton's settled system of diction and style of verse, his power of description and vigour of sentiment. Most truly poetical, worthy of the highest admiration as a poem. Deficient as a drama. The human part is not reasonable, though convenient; the prologue is irregular; the speeches are too long and lack animation, being elegant but tedious; the language is poetical, displaying noble sentiments, but too luxuriant for dialogue.

Sonnets "are not bad," but deserve no special criticism.

Paradise Lost (pp. 56-71).

(i.) *The Epic Poem*, the greatest proof of a poet's genius.

It teaches great truths by the most pleasing precepts.

It relates a great event in the most affecting manner.

It exercises the highest powers of imagination.

The poet must first find a moral (Bossu). Milton's moral is an essential part of his poem.

The moral must be conveyed by an attractive surprising narrative. Here Milton equals poets. //

The subject must be an important event. has chosen the greatest possible series of event

The agents must be of elevated dignity. weakest of Milton's agents are the noblest of beings, the chief are Divine, the others are com

by Omnipotence only. Milton succeeded in employing these powerful agents.

(ii.) *The Fabric.*

1. The characters,—Angels, good and evil; Man, innocent and sinful. The four good angels are suitably portrayed. Clarke objects to some of Satan's speeches as impious; Johnson thinks there is little in them to shock piety. Moloch's ferocity is consistently displayed. Both the innocence and the guilty state of Adam and Eve are suitably shown by their language. The superiority of Adam is diligently sustained in both states.

2. Parts of an epic poem,—the probable and the marvellous. The main fabric is truth, interesting to all men at all times (Addison); the probable is marvellous and the marvellous is probable.

3. The machinery, *i.e.* the intervention of supernatural power. The visible control of Heaven appears in every action.

4. Episodes,—two only, introduced by Raphael and Michael. One is a necessary warning to Adam, the other a necessary consolation.

5. A complete design, as required by Aristotle's rules. The few digressions in *Paradise Lost* are too beautiful to be omitted.

6. Is this an heroic poem? Milton thus described it; Dryden denies the heroism of Adam because he fell; Johnson refutes Dryden because Adam was restored.

(iii.) *The Sentiments.*

In most cases perfectly appropriate. Instructive passages are rare. The aim is not to assist human

conduct, but to raise the thoughts above earth. Occasional thoughts indicate Milton's fervid and active imagination, continual study, and inquiring mind. "The characteristick quality of this poem is sublimity." Greatness and loftiness lift Milton above elegance and grace. The subject suited his powers. Nature and human life were too limited for him. He preferred possibility to reality; his imagination visited higher worlds. Hence descriptions of scenes of nature are not real nor original. "He saw nature through the spectacles of books" (Dryden). Similes few but varied, not confined to mere comparison.

Milton's moral sentiments excel those of ancient poets, who lacked the light of Revelation. His characters are greater, because they display Christian virtues. Sanctity of thought is everywhere displayed. "Sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem."

The two human beings are tenderly affectionate and sublimely pious before their fall, venerable for dignity and innocence. After their fall they are humble without meanness, and again become worthy of reverence. The anguish after their fall is justly described.

(iv.) *Defects and Faults.*

Johnson's plan ignores verbal inaccuracies.

1. Inconvenience of plan, excluding human action and manners. Hence the reader has little curiosity or sympathy.

2. The truths taught lack novelty, are neither new nor unexpected.

3. The solemnity of the subject obstructs rather than arouses imagination. The good and evil of eternity are too great for poetical treatment.

4. Milton has displayed the power of study and genius in accumulating and selecting materials to adorn his poem, and to present the subject in a new form with fresh adornments, but has not succeeded in supplying the want of human interest.

5. The agency of spirits is not consistent throughout. Philosophy has confused poetry by partially, but not wholly, investing the spirits with form and matter.

6. Allegorical persons having no real existence are introduced. The personification of Sin and Death is faulty. This "unskilful allegory" is one of the greatest faults.

7. A few errors in the narrative, and in the descriptions of man and animals before the fall.

8. Dryden remarks that the high level of excellence is not always maintained. Johnson considers that this is natural.

9. The "Paradise of Fools" is too ludicrous for this great work.

10. Too frequent play upon words; equivocations; improper use of terms of art; these are unimportant faults.

Paradise Regained (p 71), elegant, instructive. The dialogue requires the aid of action. It suffers in the general opinion by comparison with *Paradise Lost*.

Samson Agonistes (pp. 71, 72) has been too much admired.

Prejudice and bigotry made Milton prefer ancient tragedies to those of the French and English stage.

Blind admiration of Milton led to praise of unnecessary and useless intermediate parts of this drama.

Many beautiful passages but no connected plan. Milton not a dramatist, had not studied character by observation but from books. He had little experience of human nature.

General Remarks (pp. 72-74).

Diction, uniform throughout greater works, and peculiarly his own. His chief admirers attribute this to grandeur of ideas, Johnson to his love of foreign idiom. In his prose this is condemned, in his poetry it is admired. Style is not modified by the subject. Milton wrote no language, but formed a Babylonish dialect, harsh and barbarous in itself, but appearing graceful by the pleasure it conveys. Copiousness, variety, diligent selection of melodious words, are to be praised.

Versification. "English heroic verse without rhyme," probably in imitation of Italian verse. He thought rhyme not necessary to true poetry. Johnson considers the English language, being unmusical, requires the "music of metre." "The artifice of rhyme" makes each line a distinct system of sounds and preserves the music of the English heroic line. Blank verse "seems to be verse only to the eye," has not the ease of prose, nor the melody of numbers, and soon tires the reader. Milton is to be admired rather than imitated.

MILTON.

THE Life of Milton has been already written in so many forms, and with such minute inquiry, that I might perhaps more properly have contented myself with the addition of a few notes to Mr. Fenton's elegant Abridgement, but that a new narrative was thought necessary to the uniformity of this edition.

John Milton was by birth a gentleman, descended from the proprietors of Milton near Thame in Oxfordshire, one of whom forfeited his estate in the times of York and Lancaster. Which side he took I know not; his descendant inherited no 10 veneration for the White Rose.

His grandfather John was keeper of the forest of Shotover, a zealous papist, who disinherited his son because he had forsaken the religion of his ancestors.

His father, John, who was the son disinherited, had recourse for his support to the profession of a scrivener. He was a man eminent for his skill in music, many of his compositions being still to be found; and his reputation in his profession was such, that he grew rich, and retired to an estate. He had probably more than common literature, as his son addresses 20 him in one of his most elaborate Latin poems. He married a gentlewoman of the name of Caston, a Welsh family, by whom he had two sons, John the poet, and Christopher who studied the law, and adhered, as the law taught him, to the King's party, for which he was a while persecuted; but having, by his brother's interest, obtained permission to live in quiet,

he supported himself so honourably by chamber-practice, that soon after the accession of King James, he was knighted and made a Judge : but, his constitution being too weak for business, he retired before any disreputable compliances became necessary.

He had likewise a daughter Anne, whom he married with a considerable fortune to Edward Philips, who came from Shrewsbury, and rose in the Crown-Office to be secondary ; by him she had two sons, John and Edward, who were educated
10 by the poet, and from whom is derived the only authentic account of his domestic manners.

John, the poet, was born in his father's house, at the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, Dec. 9, 1608, between six and seven in the morning. His father appears to have been very solicitous about his education ; for he was instructed at first by private tuition under the care of Thomas Young, who was afterwards chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburgh ; and of whom we have reason to think well, since his scholar considered him as worthy of an epistolary Elegy.

20 He was then sent to St. Paul's School, under the care of Mr. Gill ; and removed, in the beginning of his sixteenth year, to Christ's College in Cambridge, where he entered a sizar, Feb. 12, 1624.

He was at this time eminently skilled in the Latin tongue ; and he himself, by annexing the dates to his first compositions, a boast of which the learned Politian had given him an example, seems to commend the earliness of his own proficiency to the notice of posterity. But the products of his vernal fertility have been surpassed by many, and particu-
30 larly by his contemporary Cowley. Of the powers of the mind it is difficult to form an estimate : many have excelled Milton in their first essays, who never rose to works like *Paradise Lost*.

At fifteen, a date which he uses till he is sixteen, he translated or versified two Psalms, 114 and 135, which he thought worthy of the public eye ; but they raise no great expecta-

tions: they would in any numerous school have obtained praise, but not excited wonder.

Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year, by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with very nice discernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. If any exceptions can be made, they are very few: Haddon and Ascham, the pride of Elizabeth's reign, 10 however they may have succeeded in prose, no sooner attempt verses than they provoke derision. If we produced any thing worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was perhaps Alabaster's *Roxana*.

Of these exercises, which the rules of the University required, some were published by him in his maturer years. They had been undoubtedly applauded, for they were such as few can perform; yet there is reason to suspect that he was regarded in his college with no great fondness. That he obtained a fellowship is certain; but the unkindness with 20 which he was treated was not merely negative. I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either university that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction.

It was, in the violence of controversial hostility, objected to him, that he was expelled. This he steadily denies, and it was apparently not true; but it seems plain, from his own verses to Diedati, that he had incurred "Rustication;" a temporary dismissal into the country, with perhaps the loss of a term.

30

This poem, which mentions his *exile*, proves likewise that it was not perpetual; for it concludes with a resolution of returning some time to Cambridge. And it may be conjectured from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

He took both the usual degrees—that of Bachelor in 1628, and that of Master in 1632; but he left the university with no kindness for its institution, alienated either by the injudicious severity of his governors, or his own captious perverseness. The cause cannot now be known, but the effect appears in his writings. His scheme of education, inscribed to Hartlib, supersedes all academical instruction, being intended to comprise the whole time which men usually spend in literature, from their entrance upon grammar, *till they proceed, as they call them, masters of arts.* And in his discourse *On the Least Way to Remove Hirelings out of the Church*, he ingeniously proposes that *the profits of the lands forfeited by the act for superstitious uses should be applied to such academies all over the land, where languages and arts may be taught together; so that youth may be at once brought up to a competency of learning and an honest trade, by which means such of them as had the gift, being enabled to support themselves (without tithes) by the latter, may, by the help of the former, become worthy preachers.*

He went to the university with a design of entering into the Church, but in time altered his mind; for he declared, that whoever became a clergyman must “subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that could retch, he must straight perjure himself. He thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing.”

These expressions are, I find, applied to the subscription of the Articles: but it seems more probable that they relate to canonical obedience. I know not any of the Articles which seem to thwart his opinions; but the thoughts of obedience, whether canonical or civil, raised his indignation.

His unwillingness to engage in the ministry, perhaps not yet advanced to a settled resolution of declining it, appears in a letter to one of his friends, who had reproved his suspended and dilatory life, which he seems to have imputed to

an insatiable curiosity, and fantastick luxury of various knowledge. To this he writes a cool and plausible answer, in which he endeavours to persuade him that the delay proceeds not from the delights of desultory study, but from the desire of obtaining more fitness for his task; and that he goes on, *not taking thought of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit.*

When he left the university, he returned to his father, then residing at Horton in Buckinghamshire, with whom he lived five years; in which time he is said to have read all the Greek and Latin writers. With what limitations this universality is to be understood, who shall inform us?

It might be supposed that he who read so much should have done nothing else; but Milton found time to write the masque of Comus, which was presented at Ludlow, then the residence of the Lord President of Wales, in 1634; and had the honour of being acted by the Earl of Bridgewater's sons and daughter. The fiction is derived from Homer's Circe; but we never can refuse to any modern the liberty of borrowing from Homer:

20

—a quo cen fente perenni
Vatum Pieris ora rigantur aquis.

His next production was Lycidas, an elegy, written in 1637, on the death of Mr. King, the son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland in the time of Elizabeth, James, and Charles. King was much a favourite at Cambridge, and many of the wits joined to do honour to his memory. Milton's acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered by a mixture of longer and shorter verses, according to the rules of Tuscan poetry, and his malignity to the Church by some lines which are interpreted as threatening its extermination.

He is supposed about this time to have written his Arcades; for while he lived at Horton he used sometimes to steal from his studies a few days, which he spent at Harefield, the house

of the Countess Dowager of Derby, where the Arcades made part of a dramatic entertainment.

He began now to grow weary of the country; and had some purpose of taking chambers in the Inns of Court, when the death of his mother set him at liberty to travel, for which he obtained his father's consent, and Sir Henry Wotton's directions, with the celebrated precept of prudence, *i pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto*; "thoughts close, and looks loose."

- 10 In 1638 he left England, and went first to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord Soudamore, he had the opportunity of visiting Grotius, then residing at the French court as ambassador from Christina of Sweden. From Paris he hasted into Italy, of which he had with particular diligence studied the language and literature: and, though he seems to have intended a very quick perambulation of the country, stayed two months at Florence; where he found his way into the academies, and produced his compositions with such applause as appears to have exalted him in his own opinion, and con-
- 20 firmed him in the hope, that, "by labour and intense study, which," says he, "I take to be my portion in this life, joined with a strong propensity of nature," he might "leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let die."

- It appears, in all his writings, that he had the usual concomitant of great abilities, a lofty and steady confidence in himself, perhaps not without some contempt of others: for scarcely any man ever wrote so much, and praised so few. Of his praise he was very frugal; as he set its value
- 30 high, and considered his mention of a name as a security against the waste of time, and a certain preservative from oblivion.

At Florence he could not indeed complain that his merit wanted distinction. Carlo Dati presented him with an encomiastick inscription, in the tumid lapidary style; and Francini wrote him an ode, of which the first stanza is only empty

noise ; the rest are perhaps too diffuse on common topics : but the last is natural and beautiful.

From Florence he went to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he was again received with kindness by the learned and the great. Holstenius, the keeper of the Vatican Library, who had resided three years at Oxford, introduced him to Cardinal Barberini ; and he, at a musical entertainment, waited for him at the door, and led him by the hand into the assembly. Here Selvaggi praised him in a distich, and Salsilli in a tetrastich : neither of them of much value. The Italians 10 were gainers by this literary commerce ; for the encomiums with which Milton repaid Salsilli, though not secure against a stern grammarian, turn the balance indisputably in Milton's favour.

Of these Italian testimonies, poor as they are, he was proud enough to publish them before his poems ; though, he says, *non tam de se, quam supra se.*

At Rome, as at Florence, he stayed only two months ; a time indeed sufficient, if he desired only to ramble with an 20 explainer of its antiquities, or to view palaces and count pictures ; but certainly too short for the contemplation of learning, policy, or manners.

From Rome he passed on to Naples, in company of a hermit : a companion from whom little could be expected, yet to him Milton owed his introduction to Manso, Marquis of Villa, who had been before the patron of Tasso. Manso was enough delighted with his accomplishments to honour him with a sorry distich, in which he commends him for everything but his religion ; and Milton, in return, addressed him in a 30 Latin poem, which must have raised an high opinion of English elegance and literature.

His purpose was now to have visited Sicily and Greece ; but, hearing of the differences between the King and parliament, he thought it proper to hasten home, rather than pass his life in foreign amusements while his countrymen were

contending for their rights. He therefore came back to Rome, though the merchants informed him of plots laid against him by the Jesuits, for the liberty of his conversations on religion. He had sense enough to judge that there was no danger, and therefore kept on his way, and acted as before, neither obtruding nor shunning controversy. He had perhaps given some offence by visiting Galileo, then a prisoner in the Inquisition for philosophical heresy; and at Naples he was told by Manso, that, by his declarations on religious
 10 questions, he had excluded himself from some distinctions which he should otherwise have paid him. But such conduct, though it did not please, was yet sufficiently safe; and Milton stayed two months more at Rome, and went on to Florence without molestation.

From Florence he visited Lucca. He afterwards went to Venice; and having sent away a collection of musick and other books, travelled to Geneva, which he probably considered as the metropolis of orthodoxy. Here he reposed, as in a congenial element, and became acquainted with John
 20 Diodati and Frederick Spanheim, two learned professors of Divinity. From Geneva he passed through France; and came home, after an absence of a year and three months.

At his return he heard of the death of his friend Charles Diodati; a man whom it is reasonable to suppose of great merit, since he was thought by Milton worthy of a poem, intituled, *Epitaphium Damonis*, written with the common but childish imitation of pastoral life.

He now hired a lodging at the house of one Russel, a taylor in St. Bride's Churchyard, and undertook the educa-
 30 tion of John and Edward Philips, his sister's sons. Finding his rooms too little, he took a house and garden in Aldersgate-street, which was not then so much out of the world as it is now; and chose his dwelling at the upper end of a passage, that he might avoid the noise of the street. Here he received more boys, to be boarded and instructed.

Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with

some degree of merriment on great promises and small performance, on the man who hastens home, because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school. This is the period of his life from which all his biographers seem inclined to shrink. They are unwilling that Milton should be degraded to a schoolmaster; but, since it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing, and another that his motive was only zeal for the propagation of learning and virtue; and all tell 10 what they do not know to be true, only to excuse an act which no wise man will consider as in itself disgraceful. His father was alive; his allowance was not ample; and he supplied his deficiencies by an honest and useful employment.

It is told, that in the art of education he performed wonders; and a formidable list is given of the authors, Greek and Latin, that were read in Aldersgate-street, by youth between ten and fifteen or sixteen years of age. Those who tell or receive these stories should consider that nobody can be taught faster than he can learn. The speed of the horse- 20 man must be limited by the power of his horse. Every man, that has ever undertaken to instruct others, can tell what slow advances he has been able to make, and how much patience it requires to recall vagrant inattention, to stimulate sluggish indifference, and to rectify absurd misapprehension.

The purpose of Milton, as it seems, was to teach something more solid than the common literature of schools, by reading those authors that treat of physical subjects; such as the Georgick, and astronomical treatises of the ancients. This was a scheme of improvement which seems to have busied 30 many literary projectors of that age. Cowley, who had more means than Milton of knowing what was wanting to the embellishments of life, formed the same plan of education in his imaginary college.

But the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes,

are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and Justice are virtues, and excellences, of all times and of all places; we are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary; our speculations upon matter are voluntary, and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergence, that one man may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostaticks or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears.

Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians.

Let me not be censured for this digression as pedantick or paradoxical; for if I have Milton against me, I have Socrates on my side. It was his labour to turn philosophy from the study of nature to speculations upon life; but the innovators whom I oppose are turning off attention from life to nature. They seem to think, that we are placed here to watch the growth of plants, or the motions of the stars. Socrates was rather of opinion, that what we had to learn was, how to do good, and avoid evil.

30 "Ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται.

Of institutions we may judge by their effects. From this wonder-working academy, I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge: its only genuine product, I believe, is a small History of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard.

That in his school, as in everything else which he undertook, he laboured with great diligence, there is no reason for doubting. One part of his method deserves general imitation. He was careful to instruct his scholars in religion. Every Sunday was spent upon theology, of which he dictated a short system, gathered from the writers that were then fashionable in the Dutch universities.

He set his pupils an example of hard study and spare diet; only now and then he allowed himself to pass a day of festivity and indulgence with some gay gentlemen of 10 Gray's Inn.

He now began to engage in the controversies of the times, and lent his breath to blow the flames of contention. In 1641 he published a treatise of Reformation, in two books, against the established Church; being willing to help the Puritans, who were, he says, *inferior to the Prelates in learning*.

Hall, bishop of Norwich, had published an Humble Remonstrance, in defence of Episcopacy; to which, in 1641, six ministers, of whose names the first letters made the 20 celebrated word Smeectymnuus, gave their answer. Of this answer a Confutation was attempted by the learned Usher; and to the Confutation Milton published a Reply, intituled, Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alledged to that purpose in some late treatises, one whereof goes under the name of James, Lord Bishop of Armagh.

I have transcribed this title, to shew, by his contemptuous mention of Usher, that he had now adopted the puritanical 30 savageness of manners. His next work was, The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy, by Mr. John Milton, 1642. In this book he discovers, not with ostentatious exultation, but with calm confidence, his high opinion of his own powers; and promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use

and honour to his country. "This," says he, "is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit that can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added, industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, I refuse not to sustain this expectation." From a promise like this, at once fervid, pious,
 10 and rational, might be expected the *Paradise Lost*.

He published the same year two more pamphlets upon the same question. To one of his antagonists, who affirms that he was *vomited out of the university*, he answers, in general terms, "The Fellows of the College wherein I spent some years, at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many times how much better it would content them that I should stay.--As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteem or disesteem myself the more for that, too simple
 20 is the answerer, if he think to obtain with me. Of small practice were the physician who could not judge, by what she and her sister have of long time vomited, that the worser stuff she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever keeking at, and is queasy; she vomits now out of sickness; but before it be well with her, she must vomit by strong physick.--The university, in the time of her better health, and my younger judgement, I never greatly admired, but now much less."

This is surely the language of a man who thinks that he
 30 has been injured. He proceeds to describe the course of his conduct, and the train of his thoughts; and, because he has been suspected of incontinence, gives an account of his own purity: "That if I be justly charged," says he, "with this crime, it may come upon me with tenfold shame."

The style of his piece is rough, and such perhaps was that of his antagonist. This roughness he justifies, by great

examples, in a long digression. Sometimes he tries to be humorous: "Lest I should take him for some chaplain in hand, some squire of the body to his prelate, one who serves not at the altar only but at the court-cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself; and sets me out half a dozen ptisical mottoes, wherever he had them, hopping about in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour the gony of his wit having scraped narrowly, instead of well-ized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumbing asies. And thus ends this section, or rather dissection of 10
himself." Such is the controversial merriment of Milton; his gloomy seriousness is yet more offensive. Such is his malignity, *that hell grows darker at his frown.*

His father, after Reading was taken by Essex, came to reside in his house; and his school increased. At Whitsunde, in his thirty-fifth year, he married Mary, the daughter of Mr. Powel, a justice of the peace in Oxfordshire. He brought her to town with him, and expected all the advantages of a conjugal life. The lady, however, seems not much to have delighted in the pleasures of spare diet and hard study: for, as Philips relates, "having for a month led a philosophical life, after having been used at home to a great ease and much company and joviality, her friends, possibly at her own desire, made earnest suit to have her company re-remaining part of the summer; which was granted, upon a promise of her return at Michaelmas."

Milton was too busy to much miss his wife: he pursued his studies; and now and then visited the Lady Margaret Church, whom he has mentioned in one of his sonnets. At St Michaelmas arrived; but the lady had no inclination to return to the sullen gloom of her husband's habitation, and therefore very willingly forgot her promise. He wrote her a letter, but had no answer; he sent more with the same success. It could be alleged that letters misarry; he therefore dispatched a messenger, being by this time too angry to go himself. His messenger was sent

back with some contempt. The family of the lady were Cavaliers.

In a man whose opinion of his own merit was like Milton's, less provocation than this might have raised violent resentment. Milton soon determined to repudiate her for disobedience; and, being one of those who could easily find arguments to justify inclination, published (in 1644) *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*; which was followed by *The Judgement of Martin Bucer, concerning Divorce*; and 10 the next year his *Tetrachordon, Expositions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage*.

This innovation was opposed, as might be expected, by the clergy; who, then holding their famous assembly at Westminster, procured that the author should be called before the Lords; "but that House," says Wood, "whether approving the doctrine, or not favouring his accusers, did soon dismiss him."

There seems not to have been much written against him, nor anything by any writer of eminence. The antagonist 20 that appeared is styled by him, *a Serving man turned Solicitor*. Howel in his letters mentions the new doctrine with contempt; and it was, I suppose, thought more worthy of derision than of confutation. He complains of this neglect in two sonnets, of which the first is contemptible, and the second not excellent.

From this time it is observed that he became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he had favoured before. He that changes his party by his humour, is not more virtuous 30 than he that changes it by his interest; he loves himself rather than truth.

His wife and her relations now found that Milton was not an unresisting sufferer of injuries; and perceiving that he had begun to put his doctrine in practice, by courting a young woman of great accomplishments, the daughter of one Doctor Davis, who was however not ready to comply, they resolved to endeavour a re-union. He went sometimes

to the house of one Blackborough, his relation, in the lane of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and at one of his usual visits was surprised to see his wife come from another room, and implore forgiveness on her knees. He resisted her entreaties for a while ; " but partly," says Philips, " his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to perseverance in anger or revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion and a firm league of peace." It were injurious to omit, that Milton afterwards received her father and her brothers in 10 his own house, when they were distressed, with other Royalists.

He published about the same time his "Areopagitica, a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the liberty of unlicensed Printing." The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of government, which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth ; if every dreamer of 20 innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement ; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace ; and if every sceptick in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors ; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious ; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book ; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, be- 30 cause writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief.

But whatever were his engagements, civil or domestick, poetry was never long out of his thoughts. About this time (1645) a collection of his Latin and English poems

appeared, in which the Allegro and Penseroso, with some others, were first published.

He had taken a larger house in Barbican for the reception of scholars ; but the numerous relations of his wife, to whom he generously granted refuge for a while, occupied his rooms. In time, however, they went away ; "and the house again," says Philips, "now looked like a house of the Muses only, though the accession of scholars was not great. Possibly his having proceeded so far in the education of youth may
10 have been the occasion of his adversaries calling him pedagogue and schoolmaster ; whereas it is well known he never set up for a publick school, to teach all the young fry of a parish ; but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to relations, and the sons of gentlemen who were his intimate friends ; and that neither his writings nor his way of teaching ever savoured in the least of pedantry."

Thus laboriously does his nephew extenuate what cannot be denied, and what might be confessed without disgrace. Milton was not a man who could become mean by a mean
20 employment. This, however, his warmest friends seem not to have found ; they therefore shift and palliate. He did not sell literature to all comers at an open shop ; he was a chamber-milliner, and measured his commodities only to his friends.

Philips, evidently impatient of viewing him in this state of degradation, tells us that it was not long continued ; a to raise his character again, has a mind to invest him w military splendour : "He is much mistaken," he says, there was not about this time a design of making him
30 adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But new-modelling of the army proved an obstruction to design." An event cannot be set at a much greater distance than by having been only *designed, about some time*, if a : *be not much mistaken*. Milton shall be a pedagogue longer ; for, if Philips be not much mistaken, somebody some time designed him for a soldier.

About the time that the army was new-modelled (1645) he removed to a smaller house in Holbourn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. He is not known to have published anything afterwards till the King's death, when, finding his murderers condemned by the Presbyterians, he wrote a treatise to justify it, and *to compose the minds of the people*.

He made some Remarks on the Articles of Peace between Ormond and the Irish Rebels. While he contented himself to write, he perhaps did only what his conscience dictated; 10 and if he did not very vigilantly watch the influence of his own passions, and the gradual prevalence of opinions, first willingly admitted and then habitually indulged, if objections, by being overlooked, were forgotten, and desire superinduced conviction; he yet shared only the common weakness of mankind, and might be no less sincere than his opponents. But as faction seldom leaves a man honest, however it might find him, Milton is suspected of having interpolated the book called *Icon Basilike*, which the Council of State, to whom he was now made Latin Secretary, em- 20 ployed him to censure, by inserting a prayer taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, and imputing it to the King; whom he charges, in his *Iconoclastes*, with the use of this prayer as with a heavy crime, in the indecent language with which prosperity had emboldened the advocates for rebellion to insult all that is venerable or great: "Who would have imagined so little fear in him of the true all-seeing Deity -- as, immediately before his death, to pop into the hands of the grave bishop that attended him, as a special relique of his saintly exercises, a prayer stolen word for word from 30 the mouth of a heathen woman praying to a heathen god!"

The papers which the King gave to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold the regicides took away, so that they were at least the publishers of this prayer; and Dr. Birch, who had examined the question with great care, was inclined to think them the forgers. The use of it by adaptation was innocent;

extension of their malice could contrive what they wanted to accuse.

King Charles the Second, being now sheltered in Holland employed Salmasius, professor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his father and of monarchy; and, to excite his industry, gave him, as was reported, a hundred Jacobuses. Salmasius was a man of skill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and sagacity of emendatory criticism, almost exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having, by excessive praises, been confirmed in great confidence of himself, though he probably had not much considered the principles of society or the rights of government, undertook the employment without distrust of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 published *Defensio Regis*.

To this Milton was required to write a sufficient answer; which he performed (1651) in such a manner, that Hobbes declared himself unable to decide whose language was best, or whose arguments were worst. In my opinion, Milton's periods are smoother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himself with teizing his adversary as much as with confuting him. He makes a foolish allusion of Salmasius, whose doctrine he considers as servile and unmanly, to the stream of Salmacis, which whoever entered left half his virility behind him. Salmasius was a Frenchman, and was unhappily married to a scold. *Tu es Gallus*, says Milton, *et, ut aiunt, nimium gallinaceus*. But his supreme pleasure is to tax his adversary, so renowned for criticism, with vitious Latin. He opens his book with telling that he has used *Persona*, which, according to Milton, signifies only a Mask, in a sense not known to the Romans, by applying it as we apply *Person*. But as Nemesis is always on the watch, it is memorable that he has enforced the charge of a solecism by an expression in itself grossly solecistical, when, for one of those supposed blunders, he says, as Ker,

and I think some one before him, has remarked, *propino te grammaticistis tuis vapulandum*. From *capulo*, which has a passive sense, *vapulandus* can never be derived. No man forgets his original trade: the rights of nations, and of kings, sink into questions of grammar, if grammarians discuss them.

Milton when he undertook this answer was weak of body, and dim of sight; but his will was forward, and what was wanting of health was supplied by zeal. He was rewarded with a thousand pounds, and his book was much read: for 10 paradox, recommended by spirit and elegance, easily gains attention; and he who told every man that he was equal to his King could hardly want an audience.

That the performance of Salmasius was not dispersed with equal rapidity, or read with equal eagerness, is very credible. He taught only the stale doctrine of authority, and the displeasing duty of submission; and he had been so long not only the monarch but the tyrant of literature, that almost all mankind were delighted to find him defied and insulted by a new name, not yet considered as any 20 one's rival. If Christina, as is said, commended the Defence of the People, her purpose must be to torment Salmasius, who was then at her Court; for neither her civic station nor her natural character could dispose her to favour the doctrine, who was by birth a queen, and by temper despotick.

That Salmasius was, from the appearance of Milton's book, treated with neglect, there is not much proof; but to a man so long accustomed to admiration, a little praise of his antagonist would be sufficiently offensive, and might 30 incline him to leave Sweden, from which, however, he was dismissed, not with any mark of contempt, but with a train of attendance scarce less than regal.

He prepared a reply, which, left as it was imperfect, was published by his son in the year of the Restoration. In the beginning, being probably most in pain for his Latinity,

he endeavours to defend his use of the word *persona*; but, if I remember right, he misses a better authority than any that he has found, that of Juvenal in his fourth satire :

— Quid agis cum dira & feodior omni
Crimine *Persona* est ?

As Salmasius reproached Milton with losing his eyes in the quarrel, Milton delighted himself with the belief that he had shortened Salmasius's life, and both perhaps with more malignity than reason. Salmasius died at the Spa,
10 Sept. 3, 1653; and as controvertists are commonly said to be killed by their last dispute, Milton was flattered with the credit of destroying him.

Cromwell had now dismissed the parliament by the authority of which he had destroyed monarchy, and commenced monarch himself, under the title of Protector, but with kingly and more than kingly power. That his authority was lawful, never was pretended; he himself founded his right only in necessity; but Milton, having now tasted the honey of publick employment, would not
20 return to hunger and philosophy, but, continuing to exercise his office under a manifest usurpation, betrayed to his power that liberty which he had defended. Nothing can be more just than that rebellion should end in slavery; that he, who had justified the murder of his king, for some acts which to him seemed unlawful, should now sell his services, and his flatteries, to a tyrant, of whom it was evident that he could do nothing lawful.

He had now been blind for some years; but his vigour of intellect was such, that he was not disabled to discharge
30 his office of Latin secretary, or continue his controversies. His mind was too eager to be diverted, and too strong to be subdued.

About this time his first wife died in childbed, having left him three daughters. As he probably did not much love her, he did not long continue the appearance of lament-

ing her; but after a short time married Catherine, the daughter of one captain Woodcock of Hackney; a woman doubtless educated in opinions like his own. She died within a year, of childbirth, or some distemper that followed it; and her husband has honoured her memory with a poor sonnet.

The first Reply to Milton's *Defensio Populi* was published in 1651, called *Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni) Defensionem Destructivam Regis et Populi*. Of this the author was 10 not known; but Milton and his nephew Philips, under whose name he published an answer so much corrected by him that it might be called his own, imputed it to Bramhal; and, knowing him no friend to regicides, thought themselves at liberty to treat him as if they had known what they only suspected.

Next year appeared *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum*. Of this the author was Peter du Moulin, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury; but Morus, or More, a French minister, having the care of its publication, was 20 treated as the writer by Milton in his *Defensio Secunda*, and overwhelmed by such violence of invective, that he began to shrink under the tempest, and gave his persecutors the means of knowing the true author. Du Moulin was now in great danger; but Milton's pride operated against his malignity; and both he and his friends were more willing that Du Moulin should escape than that he should be convicted of mistake.

In this second Defence he shews that his eloquence is not merely satirical; the rudeness of his invective is 30 equalled by the grossness of his flattery. "*Deserimur, Cromuelle, tu solus superes, ad te summa nostrarum rerum rediit, in te solo consistit, insuperabili tue virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, nisi qui aequales inequalis ipse honores sibi quarit, aut digniori concessos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil esse in societate hominum magis vel*

Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil æquius, nihil utilius, quam potiri rerum dignissimum. Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus et gloriosissimus,¹ dux publici consilii, exercituum fortissimorum imperator, pater patrie gessisti. Sic tu spontanea bonorum omnium et animitus missa voce salutaris."

Cesar, when he assumed the perpetual dictatorship, had not more servile or more elegant flattery. A translation may shew its servility; but its elegance is less attainable.

10 Having exposed the unskilfulness or selfishness of the former government, "We were left," says Milton, "to ourselves: the whole national interest fell into your hands, and subsists only in your abilities. To your virtue, overpowering and resistless, every man gives way, except some who, without equal qualifications, aspire to equal honours, who envy the distinctions of merit greater than their own, or who have yet to learn, that in the coalition of human society nothing is more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to reason, than that the highest mind should have the

20 sovereign power. Such, Sir, are you by general confession: such are the things atchieved by you, the greatest and most glorious of our countrymen, the director of our publick councils, the leader of unconquered armies, the father of your country; for by that title does every good man hail you, with sincere and voluntary praise."

Next year, having defended all that wanted defence, he found leisure to defend himself. He undertook his own vindication against More, whom he declares in his title to be justly called the author of the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*. In

30 this there is no want of vehemence nor eloquence, nor does he forget his wonted wit. "Morus es? an Momus? an uterque idem est?" He then remembers that Morus is

¹ It may be doubted whether *gloriosissimus* be here used with Milton's boasted purity. *Res gloriosa* is an *illustrious thing*; but *vir gloriosus* is commonly a *braggart*, as in *miles gloriosus*.

Latin for a Mulberry-tree, and hints at the known transformation :

— Poma alba ferbat
Quæ post nigra tulit Morus.

With this piece ended his controversies ; and he from this time gave himself up to his private studies and his civil employment.

As secretary to the Protector he is supposed to have written the Declaration of the reasons for a war with Spain. His agency was considered as of great importance ; for when a treaty with Sweden was artfully suspended, the delay was publicly imputed to Mr. Milton's indisposition ; and the Swedish agent was provoked to express his wonder, that only one man in England could write Latin, and that man blind.

Being now forty-seven years old, and seeing himself disencumbered from external interruptions, he seems to have recollected his former purposes, and to have resumed three great works which he had planned for his future employment : an epick poem, the history of his country, and a dictionary of the Latin tongue.

To collect a dictionary, seems a work of all others least practicable in a state of blindness, because it depends upon perpetual and minute inspection and collation. Nor would Milton probably have begun it, after he had lost his eyes ; but, having had it always before him, he continued it, says Philips, *almost to his dying day ; but the papers were so discomposed and deficient, that they could not be fitted for the press.* The compilers of the Latin dictionary, printed at Cambridge, had the use of those collections in three folios ; but what was their fate afterwards is not known.

To compile a history from various authors, when they can only be consulted by other eyes, is not easy, nor possible, but with more skilful and attentive help than can be commonly obtained ; and it was probably the difficulty of consulting and comparing that stopped Milton's narrative at the Conquest ;

a period at which affairs were not yet very intricate, nor authors very numerous.

For the subject of his epick poem, after much deliberation, *long chasing, and beginning late*, he fixed upon *Paradise Lost*; a design so comprehensive, that it could be justified only by success. He had once designed to celebrate King Arthur, as he hints in his verses to Mansus: but *Arthur was reserved*, says Fenton, *to another destiny*.

It appears, by some sketches of poetical projects left in 10 manuscript, and to be seen in a library at Cambridge, that he had digested his thoughts on this subject into one of those wild dramas which were anciently called Mysteries; and Philips had seen what he terms part of a tragedy, beginning with the first ten lines of Satan's address to the Sun. These Mysteries consist of allegorical persons; such as Justice, Mercy, Faith. Of the tragedy or mystery of *Paradise Lost* there are two plans:

THE PERSONS.

	Michael.	
20	Chorus of Angels.	
	Heavenly Love.	
	Lucifer.	
	Adam, } with the Serpent.	
	Eve, }	
	Conscience.	
	Death.	
	Labour,	
	Sickness,	
	Discontent,	
30	Ignorance,	
	with others;	
	Faith.	
	Hope.	
	Charity.	

THE PERSONS.

Moses.	
Divine Justice, Wisdom,	
Heavenly Love.	
The Evening Star, Hesperus.	
Chorus of Angels.	
Lucifer.	
Adam.	
Eve.	
Conscience.	
Labour,	
Sickness,	
Discontent,	
Ignorance,	
Fear,	
Death;	
Faith.	
Hope.	
Charity.	

PARADISE LOST.

THE PERSONS.

Moses, *προλογίζεσθαι*, recounting how he assumed his true body; that it corrupts not, because it is with God in the mount; declares the like of Enoch and Elijah; besides the purity of the place, that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, preserves it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God; tells, they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence, by reason of their sin.

Justice,	} debating what should become of man, if he fall.	10
Mercy,		
Wisdom,		

Chorus of Angels singing a hymn of the Creation.

ACT II.

Heavenly Love.

Evening Star.

Chorus sings the marriage-song, and describes Paradise.

ACT III.

Lucifer, contriving Adam's ruin.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall. 20

ACT IV.

Adam,	} fallen.
Eve,	

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has lost.

ACT V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise

presented by an angel with		
Labour, Grief, Hatred, Envy, War, Famine,	} Mutes.	30
Pestilence, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance,		
Fear, Death.		

To whom he gives their names. Likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, &c.

Faith,	} comfort him, and instruct him.
Hope,	
Charity,	

Chorus briefly concludes.

Such was his first design, which could have produced only an allegory, or mystery. The following sketch seems to have attained more maturity.

ADAM UNPARADISED :

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering : shewing, since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth as in heaven ; describes Paradise. Next, the Chorus, shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise, after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God ; and withal
 10 expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent new creature, man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of man ; as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this, Lucifer appears ; after his overthrow, bewails himself, seeks revenge on man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs ; whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory
 20 in heaven, against him and his accomplices : as before, after the first act, was sung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer, relating and insulting in what he had done to the destruction of man. Man next, and Eve having by this time been seduced by the Serpent, appears confusedly covered with leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him ; Justice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while, the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some angel the manner of the Fall. Here the Chorus bewails Adam's fall : Adam then and Eve return ;
 30 accuse one another ; but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife ; is stubborn in his offence. Justice appears, reasons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise : but before causes to pass before his eyes, in shapes, a mask of all the

evils of this life and world. He is humbled, relents, despairs : at last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah ; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity ; instructs him ; he repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught.

These are very imperfect rudiments of *Paradise Lost* ; but it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state, pregnant with latent possibilities of excellence ; nor could there be any more delightful entertainment than to trace their 10 gradual growth and expansion, and to observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints, and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation.

Invention is almost the only literary labour which blindness cannot obstruct, and therefore he naturally solaced his solitude by the indulgence of his fancy, and the melody of his numbers. He had done what he knew to be necessarily previous to poetical excellence ; he had made himself acquainted with *seemly arts and affairs*, his comprehension was extended by various knowledge, and his memory stored 20 with intellectual treasures. He was skilful in many languages, and had by reading and composition attained the full mastery of his own. He would have wanted little help from books, had he retained the power of perusing them.

But while his greater designs were advancing, having now, like many other authors, caught the love of publication, he amused himself, as he could, with little productions. He sent to the press (1658) a manuscript of Raleigh, called the Cabinet Council ; and next year gratified his malevolence to the clergy, by a *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases*, and the 30 Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church.

Oliver was now dead ; Richard was constrained to resign : the system of extemporary government, which had been held together only by force, naturally fell into fragments when that force was taken away ; and Milton saw himself and his

cause in equal danger. But he had still hope of doing something. He wrote letters, which Toland has published, to such men as he thought friends to the new commonwealth ; and even in the year of the Restoration he *bated no jot of heart or hope*, but was fantastical enough to think that the nation, agitated as it was, might be settled by a pamphlet, called *A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* ; which was, however, enough considered to be both seriously and ludicrously answered.

10 The obstinate enthusiasm of the commonwealth men was very remarkable. When the King was apparently returning, Harrington, with a few associates as fanatical as himself, used to meet, with all the gravity of political importance, to settle an equal government by rotation ; and Milton, kicking when he could strike no longer, was foolish enough to publish, a few weeks before the Restoration, *Notes upon a Sermon preached by one Griffiths, intituled, The Fear of God and the King*. To these *Notes* an answer was written by L'Estrange, in a pamphlet petulantly called *No Blind Guides*.

20 But whatever Milton could write, or men of greater activity could do, the King was now about to be restored with the irresistible approbation of the people. He was therefore no longer secretary, and was consequently obliged to quit the house which he held by his office ; and proportioning his sense of danger to his opinion of the importance of his writings, thought it convenient to seek some shelter, and hid himself for a time in Bartholomew-Close by West Smithfield.

I cannot but remark a kind of respect, perhaps unconsciously, paid to this great man by his biographers : every
30 house in which he resided is historically mentioned, as if it were an injury to neglect naming any place that he honoured by his presence.

The King, with lenity of which the world has had perhaps no other example, declined to be the judge or avenger of his own or his father's wrongs ; and promised to admit into the *Act of Oblivion* all, except those whom the parliament should

except ; and the parliament doomed none to capital punishment but the wretches who had immediately co-operated in the murder of the King. Milton was certainly not one of them ; he had only justified what they had done.

This justification was indeed sufficiently offensive ; and June 16 an order was issued to seize Milton's *Defence*, and Goodwin's *Obstructors of Justice*, another book of the same tendency, and burn them by the common hangman. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute the authors ; but Milton was not seized, nor perhaps very diligently pursued. 10

Not long after (August 19) the flutter of innumerable bosoms was stilled by an act, which the King, that his mercy might want no recommendation of elegance, rather called an *act of oblivion* than of grace. Goodwin was named, with nineteen more, as incapacitated for any publick trust ; but of Milton there was no exception.

Of this tenderness shewn to Milton, the curiosity of mankind has not forborne to enquire the reason. Burnet thinks he was forgotten ; but this is another instance which may confirm Dalrymple's observation, who says " that whenever 20 Burnet's narrations are examined, he appears to be mistaken."

Forgotten he was not ; for his prosecution was ordered ; it must be therefore by design that he was included in the general oblivion. He is said to have had friends in the House, such as Marvel, Morrice, and Sir Thomas Clarges ; and undoubtedly a man like him must have had influence. A very particular story of his escape is told by Richardson in his *Memoirs*, which he received from Pope, as delivered by Betterton, who might have heard it from Davenant. In the war between the King and Parliament, Davenant was made 30 prisoner, and condemned to die ; but was spared at the request of Milton. When the turn of success brought Milton into the like danger, Davenant repaid the benefit by appearing in his favour. Here is a reciprocation of generosity and gratitude so pleasing, that the tale makes its own way to credit. But if help were wanted, I know not where to find

it. The danger of Davenant is certain from his own relation ; but of his escape there is no account. Betterton's narration can be traced no higher ; it is not known that he had it from Davenant. We are told that the benefit exchanged was life for life ; but it seems not certain that Milton's life ever was in danger. Goodwin, who had committed the same kind of crime, escaped with incapacitation ; and as exclusion from publick trust is a punishment which the power of government can commonly inflict without the help of a particular law, it
10 required no great interest to exempt Milton from a censure little more than verbal. Something may be reasonably ascribed to veneration and compassion ; to veneration of his abilities, and compassion for his distresses, which made it fit to forgive his malice for his learning. He was now poor and blind ; and who would pursue with violence an illustrious enemy, depressed by fortune, and disarmed by Nature ?

The publication of the act of oblivion put him in the same condition with his fellow-subjects. He was, however, upon some pretence not now known, in the custody of the serjeant
20 in December ; and, when he was released, upon his refusal of the fees demanded, he and the serjeant were called before the House. He was now safe within the shade of oblivion, and knew himself to be as much out of the power of a griping officer as any other man. How the question was determined is not known. Milton would hardly have contended, but that he knew himself to have right on his side.

He then removed to Jewin Street, near Aldersgate Street ; and being blind, and by no means wealthy, wanted a domestick companion and attendant ; and therefore, by the
30 recommendation of Dr. Paget, married Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, probably without a fortune. Marriage afforded not much of his happiness. The first wife left him in disgust, and was brought back only by terror ; the second, indeed, seems to have been more a favourite, but her life was short. The third, as Philips relates, oppressed his children in his life-time, and cheated them at his death.

Soon after his marriage, according to an obscure story, he was offered the continuance of his employment ; and, being pressed by his wife to accept it, answered, " You, like other women, want to ride in your coach ; my wish is to live and die an honest man." If he considered the Latin secretary as exercising any of the powers of government, he that had shared authority with the parliament or Cromwell, might have forborne to talk very loudly of his honesty ; and if he thought the office purely ministerial, he certainly might have honestly retained it under the King. But this tale has 10 too little evidence to deserve a disquisition : large offers and sturdy rejections are among the most common topicks of falsehood.

He had so much either of prudence or gratitude, that he forbore to disturb the new settlement with any of his political or ecclesiastical opinions, and from this time devoted himself to poetry and literature. Of his zeal for learning, in all its parts, he gave a proof by publishing, the next year (1661), *Accidence Commenced Grammar* ; a little book which has nothing remarkable, but that its author, who had been lately 20 defending the supreme powers of his country, and was then writing *Paradise Lost*, could descend from his elevation to rescue children from the perplexity of grammatical confusion, and the trouble of lessons unnecessarily repeated.

About this time Elwood the quaker, being recommended to him as one who would read Latin to him, for the advantage of his conversation, attended him every afternoon, except on Sundays. Milton, who, in his letter to Hartlib, had declared, that *to read Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as* 30 *Love French*, required that Elwood should learn and practise the Italian pronunciation, which, he said, was necessary, if he would talk with foreigners. This seems to have been a task troublesome without use. There is little reason for preferring the Italian pronunciation to our own, except that it is more general ; and to teach it to an Englishman is only to make him a foreigner at home. He who travels, if he speaks

Latin, may so soon learn the sounds which every native gives it, that he need make no provision before his journey; and if strangers visit us, it is their business to practise such conformity to our modes as they expect from us in their own countries. Elwood complied with the directions, and improved himself by his attendance; for he relates, that Milton, having a curious ear, knew by his voice when he read what he did not understand, and would stop him, and *open the most difficult passages.*

- 10 In a short time he took a house in the Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields; the mention of which concludes the register of Milton's removals and habitations. He lived longer in this place than in any other.

He was now busied by *Paradise Lost*. Whence he drew the original design has been variously conjectured, by men who cannot bear to think themselves ignorant of that which, at last, neither diligence nor sagacity can discover. Some find the hint in an Italian tragedy. Voltaire tells a wild and unauthorised story of a farce seen by Milton in Italy, which opened thus: *Let the Rainbow be the Fiddlestick of the Fiddle of Heaven.* It has been already shewn, that the first conception was a tragedy or mystery, not of a narrative, but a dramatick work, which he is supposed to have begun to reduce to its present form about the time (1655) when he finished his dispute with the defenders of the King.

- He long before had promised to adorn his native country by some great performance, while he had yet perhaps no settled design, and was stimulated only by such expectations as naturally arose from the survey of his attainments, and the consciousness of his powers. What he should undertake, it was difficult to determine. He was *long chusing, and began late.*

While he was obliged to divide his time between the private studies and affairs of state, his poetical labour must have been often interrupted; and perhaps he did little more in that busy time than construct the narrative, adjust the

episodes, proportion the parts, accumulate images and sentiments, and treasure in his memory, or preserve in writing, such hints as books or meditation would supply. Nothing particular is known of his intellectual operations while he was a statesman ; for, having every help and accommodation at hand, he had no need of uncommon expedients.

Being driven from all public stations, he is yet too great not to be traced by curiosity to his retirement ; where he has been found by Mr. Richardson, the fondest of his admirers, *sitting before his door in a grey coat of coarse cloth, 10 in warm saltry weather, to enjoy the fresh air ; and so, as well as in his own room, receiving the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality.* His visitors of high quality must now be imagined to be few ; but men of parts might reasonably court the conversation of a man so generally illustrious, that foreigners are reported, by Wood, to have visited the house in Bread Street where he was born.

According to another account, he was seen in a small house, *neatly enough dressed in black cloaths, sitting in a room 20 hung with rusty green ; pale but not cadaverous, with chalk stones in his hands. He said, that if it were not for the gout, his blindness would be tolerable.*

In the intervals of his pain, being made unable to use the common exercises, he used to swing in a chair, and sometimes played upon an organ.

He was now confessedly and visibly employed upon his poem, of which the progress might be noted by those with whom he was familiar ; for he was obliged, when he had composed as many lines as his memory would conveniently retain, to employ some friend in writing them, having, at 30 least for part of the time, no regular attendant. This gave opportunity to observations and reports.

Mr. Philips observes, that there was a very remarkable circumstance in the composure of *Paradise Lost*, "which I have a particular reason," says he, "to remember ; for whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some

years, as I went from time to time to visit him, in parcels of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time (which, being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing), having, as the summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered that his vein never happily flowed but from the Autumnal Equinox to the Vernal; and that whatever he attempted at other times was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never
 10 so much; so that, in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent half his time therein."

Upon this relation Toland remarks, that in his opinion Philips has mistaken the time of the year; for Milton, in his Elegies, declares that with the advance of the Spring he feels the increase of his poetical force, *redeunt in carmina cires*. To this it is answered, that Philips could hardly mistake time so well marked; and it may be added, that Milton might find different times of the year favourable to different parts of life. Mr. Richardson conceives it impossible
 20 that *such a work should be suspended for six months, or for one. It may go on faster or slower, but it must go on.* By what necessity it must continually go on, or why it might not be laid aside and resumed, it is not easy to discover.

This dependence of the soul upon the seasons, those temporary and periodical ebbs and flows of intellect, may, I suppose, justly be derided as the fumes of vain imagination. *Sapiens dominabitur astris*. The author that thinks himself weather-bound will find, with a little help from hellibore, that he is only idle or exhausted. But while this notion has
 30 possession of the head, it produces the inability which it supposes. Our powers owe much of their energy to our hopes; *possunt quia posse videntur*. When success seems attainable, diligence is enforced; but when it is admitted that the faculties are suppressed by a cross wind, or a cloudy sky, the day is given up without resistance; for who can contend with the course of Nature?

From such prepossessions Milton seems not to have been free. There prevailed in his ——— an opinion that the world was in its decay, and that we have had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of Nature. It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predecessors, and that everything was daily sinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in *an age too late* for heroic poesy. 10

Another opinion wanders about the world, and sometimes finds reception among wise men; an opinion that restrains the operations of the mind to particular regions, and supposes that a luckless mortal may be born in a degree of latitude too high or too low for wisdom or for wit. From this fancy, wild as it is, he had not wholly cleared his head, when he feared lest the *climate* of his country might be *too cold* for flights of imagination.

Into a mind already occupied by such fancies, another not more reasonable might easily find its way. He that could 20 fear lest his *genius* had fallen upon too old a world, or too chill a climate, might consistently magnify to himself the influence of the seasons, and believe his faculties to be vigorous only half the year.

His submission to the seasons was at least more reasonable than his dread of decaying Nature, or a frigid zone; for general causes must operate uniformly in a general abatement of mental power; if less could be performed by the writer, less likewise would content the judges of his work. Among this lagging race of frosty grovellers he might still have risen 30 into eminence by producing something which *they should not willingly let die*. However inferior to the heroes who were born in better ages, he might still be great among his contemporaries, with the hope of growing every day greater in the dwindle of posterity. He might still be the giant of the pygmies, the one-eyed monarch of the blind.

Of his artifices of study, or particular hours of composition, we have little account, and there was perhaps little to be told. Richardson, who seems to have been very diligent in his enquiries, but discovers always a wish to find Milton discriminated from other men, relates, that "he would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make; and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came. At other times he would dictate
10 perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

These bursts of lights, and involutions of darkness; these transient and involuntary excursions and retrocessions of invention, having some appearance of deviation from the common train of Nature, are eagerly caught by the lovers of a wonder. Yet something of this inequality happens to every man in every mode of exertion, manual or mental. The mechanick cannot handle his hammer and his file at all times with equal dexterity; there are hours, he knows not
20 why, when *his hand is out*. By Mr. Richardson's relation, casually conveyed, much regard cannot be claimed. That, in his intellectual hour, Milton called for his daughter *to secure what came*, may be questioned; for unluckily it happens to be known that his daughters were never taught to write; nor would he have been obliged, as is universally confessed, to have employed any casual visitor in disburthening his memory, if his daughter could have performed the office.

The story of reducing his exuberance has been told of
30 other authors, and, though doubtless true of every fertile and copious mind, seems to have been gratuitously transferred to Milton.

What he has told us, and we cannot now know more, is, that he composed much of his poem in the night and morning, I suppose before his mind was disturbed with common business; and that he poured out with great fluency his *unpre-*

meditated verse. Versification, free, like his, from the distresses of rhyme, must, by a work so long, be made prompt and habitual; and, when his thoughts were once adjusted, the words would come at his command.

At what particular times of his life the parts of his work were written, cannot often be known. The beginning of the third book shews that he had lost his sight; and the Introduction to the seventh, that the return of the King had clouded him with discountenance; and that he was offended by the licentious festivity of the Restoration. There are no 10 other internal notes of time. Milton, being now cleared from all effects of his disloyalty, had nothing required from him but the common duty of living in quiet, to be rewarded with the common right of protection; but this, which, when he sculked from the approach of his King, was perhaps more than he hoped, seems not to have satisfied him; for no sooner is he safe, than he finds himself in danger, *fallen on evil days and evil tongues, and with darkness and with danger compass'd round.* This darkness, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deserved compassion: but to add the 20 mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen indeed on *evil days*; the time was come in which regicides could no longer boast their wickedness. But of *evil tongues* for Milton to complain required impudence at least equal to his other powers; Milton, whose warmest advocates must allow, that he never spared any asperity of reproach or brutality of insolence.

But the charge itself seems to be false; for it would be hard to recollect any reproach cast upon him, either serious or ludicrous, through the whole remaining part of his life. 30 He pursued his studies, or his amusements, without persecution, molestation, or insult. Such is the reverence paid to great abilities, however misused; they who contemplated in Milton the scholar and the wit, were contented to forget the reviler of his King.

When the plague (1665) raged in London, Milton took

refuge at Chalfont in Bucks ; where Elwood, who had taken the house for him, first saw a complete copy of *Paradise Lost*, and having perused it, said to him, "Thou hast said a great deal upon *Paradise Lost* ; what hast thou to say upon *Paradise Found* ?"

Next year, when the danger of infection had ceased, he returned to Bunhill-fields, and designed the publication of his poem. A license was necessary, and he could expect no great kindness from a chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He seems, however, to have been treated with tenderness ; for though objections were made to particular passages, and among them to the simile of the sun eclipsed in the first book, yet the license was granted ; and he sold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds, with a stipulation to receive five pounds more when thirteen hundred should be sold of the first edition : and again five pounds after the sale of the same number of the second edition : and another five pounds after the same sale of the third. None of the three editions were
20 to be extended beyond fifteen hundred copies.

The first edition was ten books, in a small quarto. The titles were varied from year to year ; and an advertisement and the arguments of the books were omitted in some copies, and inserted in others.

The sale gave him in two years a right to his second payment, for which the receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674 ; it was printed in small octavo, and the number of books was increased to twelve, by a division of the seventh and twelfth ; and some
30 other small improvements were made. The third edition was published in 1678 ; and the widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, sold all her claims to Simmons for eight pounds, according to her receipt given Dec. 21, 1680. Simmons had already agreed to transfer the whole right to Brabazon Aylmer for twenty-five pounds ; and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half, August 17, 1683, and half, March 24,

1690, at a price considerably enlarged. In the history of *Paradise Lost* a deduction thus minute will rather gratify than fatigue.

The slow sale and tardy reputation of this poem have been always mentioned as evidences of neglected merit, and of the uncertainty of literary fame ; and enquiries have been made, and conjectures offered, about the causes of its long obscurity and late reception. But has the case been truly stated ? Have not lamentation and wonder been lavished on an evil that was never felt ?

10

That in the reigns of Charles and James the *Paradise Lost* received no publick acclamations, is readily confessed. Wit and literature were on the side of the Court : and who that solicited favour or fashion would venture to praise the defender of the regicides ? All that he himself could think his due, from *evil tongues in evil days*, was that reverential silence which was generously preserved. But it cannot be inferred that his poem was not read, or not, however unwillingly, admired.

The sale, if it be considered, will justify the publick. Those 20 who have no power to judge of past times but by their own should always doubt their conclusions. The call for books was not in Milton's age what it is in the present. To read was not then a general amusement ; neither traders, nor often gentlemen, thought themselves disgraced by ignorance. The women had not then aspired to literature, nor was every house supplied with a closet of knowledge. Those, indeed, who professed learning, were not less learned than at any other time ; but of that middle race of students who read for pleasure or accomplishment, and who buy the numerous pro- 30 ducts of modern typography, the number was then comparatively small. To prove the paucity of readers, it may be sufficient to remark, that the nation had been satisfied, from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakespeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies.

The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius. The demand did not immediately increase ; for many more readers than were supplied at first the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years ; for it forced its way without assistance ; its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion ; and the opportunities now given of attracting notice
10 by advertisements were then very few ; the means of proclaiming the publication of new books have been produced by that general literature which now pervades the nation through all its ranks.

But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception.

Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked
20 his reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation.

In the mean time he continued his duties, and supplied the want of sight by a very odd expedient, of which Philips gives the following account :

Mr. Philips tells us, "that though our author had daily
30 about him one or other to read, some persons of man's estate, who, of their own accord, greedily caught at the opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well reap the benefit of what they read to him, as oblige him by the benefit of their reading ; and others of younger years were sent by their parents to the same end : yet excusing only the eldest daughter, by reason of her bodily infirmity, and difficult

utterance of speech, (which, to say truth, I doubt was the principal cause of excusing her), the other two were condemned to the performance of reading, and exactly pronouncing of all the languages of whatever book he should, at one time or other, think fit to peruse, viz. the Hebrew (and I think the Syriac, the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish, and French. All which sorts of books to be confined to read, without understanding one word, must needs be a trial of patience almost beyond endurance. Yet it was endured by both for a long time, though the irksomeness of this employment could not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness; so that at length they were all, even the eldest also, sent out to learn some curious and ingenious sorts of manufacture that are proper for women to learn; particularly embroideries in gold or silver."

In the scene of misery which this mode of intellectual labour sets before our eyes, it is hard to determine whether the daughters or the father are most to be lamented. A language not understood can never be so read as to give pleasure, and very seldom so as to convey meaning. If few men would have had resolution to write books with such embarrassments, few likewise would have wanted ability to find some better expedient.

Three years after his *Paradise Lost* (1667), he published his *History of England*, comprising the whole fable of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and continued to the Norman invasion. Why he should have given the first part, which he seems not to believe, and which is universally rejected, it is difficult to conjecture. The style is harsh; but it has something of rough vigour, which perhaps may often strike, though it cannot please.

On this history the licenser again fixed his claws, and before he would transmit it to the press tore out several parts. Some censures of the Saxon monks were taken away, lest they should be applied to the modern clergy; and a character of the Long Parliament, and Assembly of Divines,

was excluded, of which the author gave a copy to the earl of Anglesea, and which, being afterwards published, has been since inserted in its proper place.

The same year were printed *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, a tragedy written in imitation of the Ancients, and never designed by the author for the stage. As these poems were published by another bookseller, it has been asked, whether Simmons was discouraged from receiving them by the slow sale of the former. Why a writer changed
10 his bookseller a hundred years ago, I am far from hoping to discover. Certainly, he who in two years sells thirteen hundred copies of a volume in quarto, bought for two payments of five pounds each, has no reason to repent his purchase.

When Milton shewed *Paradise Regained* to Elwood, "This," said he, "is owing to you ; for you put it in my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which otherwise I had not thought of."

His last poetical offspring was his favourite. He could not,
20 as Elwood relates, endure to hear *Paradise Lost* preferred to *Paradise Regained*. Many causes may vitiate a writer's judgement of his own works. On that which has cost him much labour he sets a high value, because he is unwilling to think that he has been diligent in vain ; what has been produced without toilsome efforts is considered with delight, as a proof of vigorous faculties and fertile invention ; and the last work, whatever it be, has necessarily most of the grace of novelty. Milton, however it happened, had this prejudice, and had it to himself.

30 To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehension, that entitle this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not disdain the meanest services to literature. The epic poet, the controvertist, the politician, having already descended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments, now, in the last years of his life, composed a book of *Logick*, for the initiation

of students in philosophy : and published (1672) *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Ramii methodum concinnata* ; that is, "A new scheme of Logick, according to the Method of Ramus." I know not whether, even in this book, he did not intend an act of hostility against the Universities ; for Ramus was one of the first opposers of the old philosophy, who disturbed with innovations the quiet of the schools.

His polemical disposition again revived. He had now been safe so long, that he forgot his fears, and published a Treatise 10 of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best Means to prevent the Growth of Popery.

But this little tract is modestly written, with respectful mention of the Church of England, and an appeal to the thirty-nine articles. His principle of toleration is, agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures ; and he extends it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive them from the sacred books. The papists appeal to other testimonies, and are therefore in his opinion not to be permitted the liberty of either publick or private worship : for though 20 they plead conscience, *we have no warrant, he says, to regard conscience which is not grounded in Scripture.*

Those who are not convinced by his reasons, may be perhaps delighted with his wit. The term *Roman Catholick* is, he says, *one of the Pope's bulls ; it is particular universal, or catholick schismatick.*

He has, however, something better. As the best preservative against Popery, he recommends the diligent perusal of the Scriptures ; a duty, from which he warns the busy part of mankind not to think themselves excused.

30

He now reprinted his juvenile poems, with some additions.

In the last year of his life he sent to the press, seeming to take delight in publication, a collection of Familiar Epistles in Latin ; to which, being too few to make a volume, he added some academical exercises, which perhaps he perused with pleasure, as they recalled to his memory the days of

youth ; but for which nothing but veneration for his name could now procure a reader.

When he had attained his sixty-sixth year, the gout, with which he had been long tormented, prevailed over the enfeebled powers of nature. He died by a quiet and silent expiration, about the tenth of November, 1674, at his house in Bunhill-fields ; and was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles at Cripplegate. His funeral was very splendidly and numerously attended.

- 10 Upon his grave there is supposed to have been no memorial ; but in our time a monument has been erected in Westminster-Abbey *To the Author of Paradise Lost*, by Mr. Benson, who has in the inscription bestowed more words upon himself than upon Milton.

- When the inscription for the monument of Philips, in which he was said to be *solus Miltono secundus*, was exhibited to Dr. Sprat, then Dean of Westminster, he refused to admit it ; the name of Milton was, in his opinion, too detestable to be read on the wall of a building dedicated to devotion.
- 20 Atterbury, who succeeded him, being author of the inscription, permitted its reception. "And such has been the change of publick opinion," said Dr. Gregory, from whom I heard this account, "that I have seen erected in the church a statue of that man, whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls."

- Milton has the reputation of having been in his youth eminently beautiful, so as to have been called the Lady of his college. His hair, which was of a light brown, parted at the foretop, and hung down upon his shoulders, according to
- 30 the picture which he has given of Adam. He was, however, not of the heroick stature, but rather below the middle size, according to Mr. Richardson, who mentions him as having narrowly escaped from being *short and thick*. He was vigorous and active, and delighted in the exercise of the sword, in which he is related to have been eminently skilful. His weapon was, I believe, not the rapier, but the back-

sword, of which he recommends the use in his book on Education.

His eyes are said never to have been bright ; but, if he was a dexterous fencer, they must have been once quick.

His domestick habits, so far as they are known, were those of a severe student. He drank little strong drink of any kind, and fed without excess in quantity, and in his earlier years without delicacy of choice. In his youth he studied late at night ; but afterwards changed his hours, and rested in bed from nine to four in the summer, and five in winter. 10 The course of his day was best known after he was blind. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and then studied till twelve ; then took some exercise for an hour ; then dined ; then played on the organ, and sung, or heard another sing ; then studied to six ; then entertained his visitors till eight ; then supped, and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water, went to bed.

So is his life described ; but this even tenour appears attainable only in Colleges. He that lives in the world will sometimes have the succession of his practice broken and 20 confused. Visitors, of whom Milton is represented to have had great numbers, will come and stay unseasonably ; business, of which every man has some, must be done when others will do it.

When he did not care to rise early, he had something read to him by his bedside ; perhaps at this time his daughters were employed. He composed much in the morning, and dictated in the day, sitting obliquely in an elbow-chair, with his leg thrown over the arm.

Fortune appears not to have had much of his care. In the 30 civil wars he lent his personal estate to the parliament ; but when, after the contest was decided, he solicited repayment, he met not only with neglect, but *sharp rebuke* ; and, having tired both himself and his friends, was given up to poverty and hopeless indignation, till he shewed how able he was to do greater service. He was then made Latin secretary, with

two hundred pounds a year ; and had a thousand pounds for his Defence of the People. His widow, who, after his death, retired to Namptwich in Cheshire, and died about 1729, is said to have reported that he lost two thousand pounds by entrusting it to a scrivener ; and that, in the general depredation upon the Church he had grasped an estate of about sixty pounds a year belonging to Westminster-Abbey, which, like other shares of the plunder of rebellion, he was afterwards obliged to return. Two thousand pounds, which he had
10 placed in the Excise-office, were also lost. There is yet no reason to believe that he was ever reduced to indigence. His wants, being few, were competently supplied. He sold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, on which his widow laid hold, and only gave one hundred to each of his daughters.

His literature was unquestionably great. He read all the languages which are considered either as learned or polite ; Hebrew, with its two dialects, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish. In Latin his skill was such as places him in
20 the first rank of writers and criticks ; and he appears to have cultivated Italian with uncommon diligence. The books in which his daughter, who used to read to him, represented him as most delighting, after Homer, which he could almost repeat, were Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Euripides. His Euripides is, by Mr. Cradock's kindness, now in my hands : the margin is sometimes noted ; but I have found nothing remarkable

Of the English poets he set most value upon Spenser, Shakspeare, and Cowley. Spenser was apparently his
30 favourite : Shakspeare he may easily be supposed to like, with every other skilful reader ; but I should not have expected that Cowley, whose ideas of excellence were different from his own, would have had much of his approbation. His character of Dryden, who sometimes visited him, was, that he was a good rhymist, but no poet.

His theological opinions are said to have been first Calvin-

istical ; and afterwards, perhaps when he began to hate the Presbyterians, to have tended towards Arminianism. In the mixed questions of theology and government, he never thinks that he can recede far enough from popery, or prelacy ; but what Baudius says of Erasmus seems applicable to him, *magis habuit quod fugeret quam quod sequeretur*. He had determined rather what to condemn, than what to approve. He has not associated himself with any denomination of Protestants ; we know rather what he was not, than what he was. He was not of the Church of Rome ; he was not of the 10 Church of England.

To be of no church, is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by Faith and Hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and reimpessed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example. Milton, who appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity, and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration, to have been untainted by an heretical peculiarity of opinion, and to have lived in a 20 confirmed belief of the immediate and occasional agency of Providence, yet grew old without any visible worship. In the distribution of his hours, there was no hour of prayer, either solitary, or with his household ; omitting publick prayers, he omitted all.

Of this omission the reason has been sought, upon a supposition which ought never to be made, that men live with their own approbation, and justify their conduct to themselves. Prayer certainly was not thought superfluous by him, who represents our first parents as praying acceptably 30 in the state of innocence, and efficaciously after their fall. That he lived without prayer can hardly be affirmed ; his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer. The neglect of it in his family was probably a fault for which he condemned himself, and which he intended to correct, but that death, as too often happens, intercepted his reformation.

His political notions were those of an acrimonious and surly republican, for which it is not known that he gave any better reason than that a *popular government was the most frugal ; for the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth.* It is surely very shallow policy, that supposes money to be the chief good ; and even this, without considering that the support and expence of a Court is, for the most part, only a particular kind of traffick, by which money is circulated, without any national impoverishment.

Milton's republicanism was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness, and a sullen desire of independence : in petulance impatient of controul, and pride disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the state, and prelates in the church ; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected, that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority.

It has been observed, that they who most loudly clamour for liberty do not most liberally grant it. What we know of Milton's character, in domestick relations, is, that he was severe and arbitrary. His family consisted of women : and there appears in his books something like a Turkish contempt of females, as subordinate and inferior beings. That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education. He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.

Of his family some account may be expected. His sister, first married to Mr. Philips, afterwards married Mr. Agar, a friend of her first husband, who succeeded him in the Crown-office. She had by her first husband Edward and John, the two nephews whom Milton educated ; and by her second, two daughters.

His brother, Sir Christopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine, and a son Thomas who succeeded Agar in

an-office, and left a daughter living in 1749 in
r-street.

had children only by his first wife ; Anne, Mary,
orah. Anne, though deformed, married a master-
and died of her first child. Mary died single.

married Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spitalfields,
d seventy-six years, to August 1727. This is the
of whom publick mention has been made. She
great the first lines of Homer, the *Metamorphoses*,
e of Euripides, by having often read them. Yet 19
edality is ready to make a stand. Many repetitions
sary to fix in the memory lines not understood ; and
uld Milton wish or want to hear them so often ?
es were at the beginning of the poems. Of a book
in a language not understood, the beginning raises
attention than the end ; and as those that under-
know commonly the beginning best, its rehearsal
lon be necessary. It is not likely that Milton
any passage to be so much repeated as that his
could learn it ; nor likely that he desired the initial 20
be read at all ; nor that the daughter, weary of the
of pronouncing un-ideal sounds, would voluntarily
hem to memory.

s gentlewoman Addison made a present, and pro-
me establishment ; but died soon after. Queen
sent her fifty guineas. She had seven sons and
ughters ; but none of them had any children, except
Caleb and her daughter Elizabeth. Caleb went to
George in the East Indies, and had two sons, of
othing is now known. Elizabeth married Thomas 30
weaver in Spitalfields, and had seven children, who

She kept a petty grocer's or chandler's shop, first
away, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch

She knew little of her grandfather, and that little
good. She told of his harshness to his daughters,
refusal to have them taught to write ; and, in opposi-

tion to other accounts, represented him as delicate, though temperate, in his diet.

In 1750, April 5, Comus was played for her benefit. She had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her. The profits of the night were only one hundred and thirty pounds, though Dr. Newton brought a large contribution; and twenty pounds were given by Tonson, a man who is to be praised as often as he is named. Of this sum one
10 hundred pounds was placed in the stocks, after some debate between her and her husband in whose name it should be entered; and the rest augmented their little stock, with which they removed to Islington. This was the greatest benefaction that *Paradise Lost* ever procured the author's descendents; and to this he who has now attempted to relate his Life, had the honour of contributing a Prologue.

In the examination of Milton's poetical works I shall pay so much regard to time as to begin with his juvenile productions. For his early pieces he seems to have had a degree
20 of fondness not very laudable: what he has once written he resolves to preserve, and gives to the publick an unfinished poem, which he broke off because he was *nothing satisfied with what he had done*, supposing his readers less nice than himself. These preludes to his future labours are in Italian, Latin, and English. Of the Italian I cannot pretend to speak as a critick: but I have heard them commended by a man well qualified to decide their merit. The Latin pieces are lusciously elegant: but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquisite imitation of the ancient writers, by
30 the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention, or vigour of sentiment. They are not all of equal value: the elegies excell the odes; and some of the exercises on Gunpowder Treason might have been spared.

The English poems, though they make no promises of

Paradise Lost, have this evidence of genius, that they have a cast original and unborrowed. But their peculiarity is not excellence; if they differ from verses of others, they differ for the worse; for they are too often distinguished by repulsive harshness; the combinations of words are new, but they are not pleasing; the rhymes and epithets seem to be laboriously sought, and violently applied.

That in the early parts of his life he wrote with much care appears from his manuscripts, happily preserved at Cambridge, in which many of his smaller works are found as they 10 were first written, with the subsequent corrections. Such reliques shew how excellence is required; what we hope ever to do with ease, we may learn first to do with diligence.

Those who admire the beauties of this great poet, sometimes force their own judgement into false approbation of his little pieces, and prevail upon themselves to think that 15 admirable which is only singular. All that short compositions can commonly attain is neatness and elegance. Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace; he overlooked the milder excellence of suavity and softness; he 20 was a *Lion* that had no skill in *decanting the Kid*.

One of the poems on which much praise has been bestowed is *Lycidas*; of which the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, and the numbers displeasing. What beauty there is, we must therefore seek in the sentiments and images. It is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion; for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions. Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius, nor tells of rough *satyrs* and *fauns with cloven hoofs*. Where there is leisure for fiction 30 there is little grief.

In this poem there is no nature, for there is no truth; there is no art, for there is nothing new. Its form is that of a pastoral, easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting; whatever images it can supply, are long ago exhausted; and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the

mind. When Cowley tells of Hervey that they studied together, it is easy to suppose how much he must miss the companion of his labours, and the partner of his discoveries; but what image of tenderness can be excited by these lines :

We drove a field, and both together heard
What time the grey fly winds her sultry horn,
Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night.

We know that they never drove a field, and that they had no flocks to batten ; and though it be allowed that the representation may be allegorical, the true meaning is so uncertain and remote, that it is never sought because it cannot be known when it is found.

Among the flocks, and copses, and flowers, appear the heathen deities ; Jove and Phœbus, Neptune and Æolus with a long train of mythological imagery, such as a College easily supplies. Nothing can less display knowledge, or less exercise invention, than to tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must now feed his flocks alone, without an judge of his skill in piping ; and how one god asks another god what is become of Lycidas, and how neither god can tell. He who thus grieves will excite no sympathy ; he who thus praises will confer no honour.

This poem has yet a grosser fault. With these trifling fictions are mingled the most awful and sacred truths, such as ought never to be polluted with such irreverend combinations. The shepherd likewise is now a feeder of sheep, and afterwards an ecclesiastical pastor, a superintendent of a Christian flock. Such equivocations are always unskillful, but here they are indecent, and at least approach to impiety of which, however, I believe the writer not to have been conscious.

Such is the power of reputation justly acquired, that it blazes away the eye from nice examination. Surely a man could have fancied that he read Lycidas with pleasure had he not known its author.

Of the two pieces, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, I believe opinion is uniform; every man that reads them, reads them with pleasure. The author's design is not, what Theobald has remarked, merely to show how objects derive their colours from the mind, by representing the operation of the same things upon the gay and the melancholy temper, or upon the same man as he is differently disposed; but rather how, among the successive variety of appearances, every disposition of mind takes hold on those by which it may be gratified.

10

The *cheerful* man hears the lark in the morning; the *pensive* man hears the nightingale in the evening. The *cheerful* man sees the cock strut, and hears the horn and hounds echo in the wood; then walks *not unseen* to observe the glory of the rising sun, or listen to the singing milk-maid, and view the labours of the plowman and the mower; then casts his eyes about him over scenes of smiling plenty, and looks up to the distant tower, the residence of some fair inhabitant; thus he pursues rural gaiety through a day of labour or of play, and delights himself at night with the fanciful narratives of superstitious ignorance.

20

The *pensive* man, at one time, walks *unseen* to muse at midnight; and at another hears the sullen curfew. If the weather drives him home, he sits in a room lighted only by *glowing embers*; or by a lonely lamp outwatches the North Star, to discover the habitation of separate souls, and varies the shades of meditation, by contemplating the magnificent or pathetick scenes of tragick and epic poetry. When the morning comes, a morning gloomy with rain and wind, he walks into the dark trackless woods, falls asleep by some 30 murmuring water, and with melancholy enthusiasm expects some dream of prognostication, or some musick played by aerial performers.

Both Mirth and Melancholy are solitary, silent inhabitants of the breast that neither receive nor transmit communication; no mention is therefore made of a philosophical friend, or a

pleasant companion. The seriousness does not arise from any participation of calamity, nor the gaiety from the pleasures of the bottle.

The man of *cheerfulness*, having exhausted the country, tries what *towered cities* will afford, and mingles with scenes of splendor, gay assemblies, and nuptial festivities; but he mingles a mere spectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonson, or the wild dramas of Shakspeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre.

- 10 The *pensive* man never loses himself in crowds, but walks the cloister, or frequents the cathedral. Milton probably had not yet forsaken the Church.

Both his characters delight in musick; but he seems to think that cheerful notes would have obtained from Pluto a compleat dismissal of Eurydice, of whom solemn sounds only procured a conditional release.

- For the old age of *Cheerfulness* he makes no provision; but *Melancholy* he conducts with great dignity to the close of life. His *Cheerfulness* is without levity, and his *Pensive-*
20 *ness* without asperity.

Through these two poems the images are properly selected, and nicely distinguished; but the colours of the diction seem not sufficiently discriminated. I know not whether the characters are kept sufficiently apart. No mirth can, indeed, be found in his melancholy; but I am afraid that I always meet some melancholy in his mirth. They are two noble efforts of imagination.

- The greatest of his juvenile performances is the *Masque of Comus*; in which may very plainly be discovered the dawn
30 or twilight of *Paradise Lost*. Milton appears to have formed very early that system of diction, and mode of verse, which his maturer judgement approved, and from which he never endeavoured nor desired to deviate.

Nor does *Comus* afford only a specimen of his language; it exhibits likewise his power of description and his vigour of sentiment, employed in the praise and defence of virtue. A

work more truly poetical is rarely found ; allusions, images, and descriptive epithets, embellish almost every period with lavish decoration. As a series of lines, therefore, it may be considered as worthy of all the admiration with which the votaries have received it.

As a drama it is deficient. The action is not probable. A Masque, in those parts where supernatural intervention is admitted, must indeed be given up to all the freaks of imagination ; but, so far as the action is merely human, it ought to be reasonable, which can hardly be said of the 10 conduct of the two brothers ; who, when their sister sinks with fatigue in a pathless wilderness, wander both away together in search of berries too far to find their way back, and leave a helpless Lady to all the sadness and danger of solitude. This however is a defect overbalanced by its convenience.

What deserves more reprehension is, that the prologue spoken in the wild wood by the attendant Spirit is addressed to the audience ; a mode of communication so contrary to the nature of dramatick representation, that no precedents 20 can support it.

The discourse of the Spirit is too long ; an objection that may be made to almost all the following speeches ; they have not the spriteliness of a dialogue animated by reciprocal contention, but seem rather declamations deliberately composed, and formally repeated, on a moral question. The auditor therefore listens as to a lecture, without passion, without anxiety.

The song of Comus has airiness and jollity ; but, what may recommend Milton's morals as well as his poetry, the 30 invitations to pleasure are so general, that they excite no distinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and take no dangerous hold on the fancy.

The following soliloquies of Comus and the Lady are elegant, but tedious. The song must owe much to the voice, if it ever can delight. At last the Brothers enter, with too

much tranquillity ; and when they have feared lest their sister should be in danger, and hoped that she is not in danger, the Elder makes a speech in praise of chastity, and the Younger finds how fine it is to be a philosopher.

Then descends the Spirit in form of a shepherd ; and the Brother, instead of being in haste to ask his help, praises his singing, and enquires his business in that place. It is remarkable, that at this interview the Brother is taken with a short fit of rhyming. The Spirit relates that the Lady is in
 10 the power of Comus ; the Brother moralises again ; and the Spirit makes a long narration, of no use because it is false, and therefore unsuitable to a good Being.

In all these parts the language is poetical, and the sentiments are generous ; but there is something wanting to allure attention.

The dispute between the Lady and Comus is the most animated and affecting scene of the drama, and wants nothing but a brisker reciprocation of objections and replies, to invite attention, and detain it.

20 The songs are vigorous, and full of imagery ; but they are harsh in their diction, and not very musical in their numbers.

Throughout the whole, the figures are too bold, and the language too luxuriant for dialogue. It is a drama in the epic style, inelegantly splendid, and tediously instructive.

The Sonnets were written in different parts of Milton's life, upon different occasions. They deserve not any particular criticism ; for of the best it can only be said, that they are not bad ; and perhaps only the eighth and the twenty-first are truly entitled to this slender commendation. The
 30 fabrick of a sonnet, however adapted to the Italian language, has never succeeded in ours, which, having greater variety of termination, requires the rhymes to be often changed.

Those little pieces may be dispatched without much anxiety ; a greater work calls for greater care. I am now to examine *Paradise Lost* ; a poem, which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and with respect

to performance the second, among the productions of the human mind.

By the general consent of criticks, the first praise of genius is due to the writer of an epick poem, as it requires an assemblage of all the powers which are singly sufficient for other compositions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleasure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reason. Epick poetry undertakes to teach the most important truths by the most pleasing precepts, and therefore relates some great event in the most affecting manner. History must 10 supply the writer with the rudiments of narration, which he must improve and exalt by a nobler art, must animate by dramattick energy, and diversify by retrospection and anticipation; morality must teach him the exact bounds, and different shades, of vice and virtue; from policy, and the practice of life, he has to learn the discriminations of character, and the tendency of the passions, either single or combined; and physiology must supply him with illustrations and images. To put these materials to poetical use, is required an imagination capable of painting nature, and 20 realizing fiction. Nor is he yet a poet till he has attained the whole extension of his language, distinguished all the deficiencies of phrase, and all the colours of words, and learned to adjust their different sounds to all the varieties of metrical moderation.

Bossu is of opinion that the poet's first work is to find a *moral*, which his fable is afterwards to illustrate and establish. This seems to have been the process only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and consequent; in Milton's only it is essential and intrinsick. His purpose was 30 the most useful and the most arduous: *to vindicate the ways of God to men*; to shew the reasonableness of religion, and the necessity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral, there must be a *fable*, a narration artfully constructed, so as to excite curiosity, and surprise expectation. In this part of his work, Milton must be con-

fessed to have equalled every other poet. He has involved in his account of the Fall of Man the events which preceded, and those that were to follow it: he has interwoven the whole system of theology with such propriety, that every part appears to be necessary: and scarcely any recital is wished shorter for the sake of quickening the progress of the main action.

The subject of an epic poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the destruction of a city, 10 the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His subject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and of earth; rebellion against the Supreme King, raised by the highest order of created beings; the overthrow of their host, and the punishment of their crime; the creation of a new race of reasonable creatures; their original happiness and innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their restoration to hope and peace.

Great events can be hastened or retarded only by persons of elevated dignity. Before the greatness displayed in 20 Milton's poem, all other greatness shrinks away. The weakest of his agents are the highest and noblest of human beings, the original parents of mankind; with whose actions the elements consented; on whose rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the state of terrestrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are such as it is irreverence to name on slight occasions. The rest were lower powers;

—of which the least could wield

30 Those elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions;

powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence restrains from laying creation waste, and filling the vast expanse of space with ruin and confusion. To display the motives and actions of beings thus superiour, so far as human reason can

examine them, or human imagination represent them, is the task which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

In the examination of epick poems much speculation is commonly employed upon the *characters*. The characters in the *Paradise Lost*, which admit of examination, are those of angels and of man ; of angels good and evil ; of man in his innocent and sinful state.

Among the angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of easy condescension and free communication ; that 10 of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may seem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occasionally, and act as every incident requires ; the solitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil angels the characters are more diversified. To Satan, as Addison observes, such sentiments are given as suit *the most exalted and most depraved being*. Milton has been censured, by Clarke,¹ for the impiety which sometimes breaks from Satan's mouth. For there are thoughts, as he justly remarks, which no observation of character can justify, 20 because no good man would willingly permit them to pass, however transiently, through his own mind. To make Satan speak as a rebel, without any such expressions as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking, and I cannot but think that he has extricated himself with great happiness. There is in Satan's speeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the same with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtiness and obstinacy : but his expressions are commonly general, and no 30 otherwise offensive than as they are wicked.

The other chiefs of the celestial rebellion are very judiciously discriminated in the first and second books ; and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact consistency.

¹ Essay on Study.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, such sentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration; their repasts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addresses to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to ask, and Innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter distrust and discord, mutual accusation, and stubborn self-defence: they regard each other with
 10 alienated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their transgression. At last they seek shelter in his mercy, soften to repentance, and melt in supplication. Both before and after the Fall, the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained.

Of the *probable* and the *marvellous*, two parts of a vulgar epic poem, which immerse the critick in deep consideration, the Paradise Lost requires little to be said. It contains the history of a miracle, of Creation and Redemption; it displays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being; the prob-
 20 able therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable. The substance of the narrative is truth; and as truth allows no choice, it is, like necessity, superior to rule. To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to every thing human, some slight exceptions may be made. But the main fabrick is immovably supported.

It is justly remarked by Addison, that this poem has, by the nature of its object, the advantage above all others, that it is universally and perpetually interesting. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the same relation to Adam and to
 30 Eve, and must partake of that good and evil which extend to themselves.

On the *machinery*, so called from Θεός ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, by which is meant the occasional interposition of supernatural power, another fertile topic of critical remarks, here is no room to speak, because every thing is done under the immediate and visible direction of Heaven; but the rule is so far observed,

that no part of the action could have been accomplished by any other means.

Of *episodes*, I think there are only two, contained in Raphael's relation of the war in heaven, and Michael's prophetick account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are closely connected with the great action: one was necessary to Adam as a warning, the other as a consolation.

To the compleatness or *integrity* of the design nothing can be objected: it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is 10 perhaps no poem, of the same length, from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield. The short digressions at the beginning of the third, seventh, and ninth books, might doubtless be spared: but superfluities so beautiful, who would take away? or who does not wish that the author of the *Iliad* had gratified succeeding ages with a little knowledge of himself? Perhaps no passages are more frequently or more attentively read than these extrinsick paragraphs: and, since the end of poetry is pleasure, that 20 cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleased.

The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly *one*, whether the poem can be properly termed *heroick*, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgement rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he intituled *Paradise Lost* only a *poem*, yet calls it himself *heroick song*. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome: but there is no reason why the hero should not be 30 unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of *Lucan*: but *Lucan's* authority will not be suffered by *Quintilian* to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed: Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank. }

After the scheme and fabrick of the poem, must be considered its component parts, the sentiments and the diction.

The *sentiments*, as expressive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just.

Splendid passages, containing lessons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or
10 pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress, are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which
20 materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts.

He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest
30 himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftiness.¹ He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish.

He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of

¹ Algarotti terms it *gigantesca sublimità Miltoniana*.

displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful : therefore chose a subject on which too much could not be said, on which he might tire his fancy without the insure of extravagance.

The appearances of Nature, and the occurrences of life, did not satiate his appetite of greatness. To paint things as they are requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to sport in the wide regions of possibility ; reality was a scene too narrow for his mind. He sent his faculties out upon discovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel, and lighted to form new modes of existence, and furnish sentiment and action to superior beings, to trace the counsels of God, or accompany the choirs of heaven.

But he could not be always in other worlds : he must sometimes revisit earth, and tell of things visible and known. When he cannot raise wonder by the sublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his subject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and descriptions of the scenes or operations of Nature do not seem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation. He saw Nature, as Dryden presses it, *through the spectacles of books* ; and on most occasions calls learning to his assistance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of Enna, where Proserpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like Argo between the Cyprean rocks, or Ulysses between the two Sicilian whirlpools, when he summed Charybdis on the larboard. The mythological allusions have been justly censured, as not being always used with notice of their vanity ; but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exercise of the memory and the fancy.

His similes are less numerous, and more various, than

those of his predecessors. But he does not confine himself within the limits of rigorous comparison: his great excellence is amplitude, and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimensions which the occasion required. Thus, comparing the shield of Satan to the orb of the Moon, he crowds the imagination with the discovery of the telescope, and all the wonders which the telescope discovers.

Of his moral sentiments it is hardly praise to affirm that they excel those of all other poets; for this superiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the sacred writings. The ancient epick poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unskilful teachers of virtue: their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may rise from their works with a greater degree of active or passive fortitude, and sometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of justice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears, that the advantages of even Christian knowledge may be supposed in vain. Ariosto's pravity is generally known; and though the Deliverance of Jerusalem may be considered as a sacred subject, the poet has been very sparing of moral instruction.

In Milton every line breathes sanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious Spirits: and even they are compelled to acknowledge their subjection to God, in such a manner as excites reverence, and confirms piety.

Of human beings there are but two: but those two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and submission. In their first state their affection is tender without weakness, and their piety sublime without presumption. When they have sinned, they shew how discord begins in mutual frailty, and how it ought to cease in mutual forbearance; how confidence of the divine favour is forfeited by sin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and

myer. A state of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, at our present misery, it be possible to conceive it; but the sentiments and worship proper to a fallen and offending being we have all to learn, as we have all to practise.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors, in their first state, conversed with angels; even when folly and sin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of mean satitors*; and they rise again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

10

As human passions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the *Paradise Lost* little opportunity for the pathetick; but what little there is has not been lost. That passion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguish arising from the consciousness of transgression, and the horrors attending the sense of the Divine displeasure, are very justly described and forcibly impressed. But the passions are moved only on one occasion; sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem; sublimity, however modified, sometimes descriptive, sometimes argu-
mentative.

The defects and faults of *Paradise Lost*, for faults and defects every work of man must have, it is the business of impartial criticism to discover. As, in displaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, because of fleeting beauties there had been no end, I shall in the same general manner mention that which seems to deserve censure; for what Englishman can take delight in transcribing passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Milton, diminish in some degree the honour of our country?

30

The generality of my scheme does not admit the frequent notice of verbal inaccuracies: which Bentley, perhaps better skilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he sometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtrusions of a reviser whom the author's blindness obliged him to employ. A supposition rash and groundless, if he

thought it true ; and vile and pernicious, if, as is said private allowed it to be false.

The plan of *Paradise Lost* has this inconvenience, comprises neither human actions nor human manners. man and woman who act and suffer, are in a state no other man or woman can ever know. The reader no transaction in which he can be engaged ; behold condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himself ; he has, therefore, little natural curiosity 10 sympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's disobedience ; we all sin like Adam, and like him must all bewail offences ; we have restless and insidious enemies in the angels, and in the blessed spirits we have guardians friends ; in the Redemption of mankind we hope to be included : in the description of heaven and hell we are so interested, as we are all to reside hereafter either in regions of horror or bliss.

But these truths are too important to be new ; they have 20 been taught to our infancy ; they have mingled with solitary thoughts and familiar conversation, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raise no unaccustomed emotion in the mind ; what we knew before, we cannot learn ; what is not unexpected, cannot surprise.

Of the ideas suggested by these awful scenes, from so we recede with reverence, except when stated hours require their association ; and from others we shrink with horror or admit them only as salutary inflictions, as counterpoise 30 to our interests and passions. Such images rather obstruct the career of fancy than incite it.

Pleasure and terror are indeed the genuine sources of poetry ; but poetical pleasure must be such as human imagination can at least conceive, and poetical terror such human strength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit ;

sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with belief and humble adoration.

known truths, however, may take a different appearance, be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate *ideas*. This Milton has undertaken, and performed with *placidity* and vigour of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever considers the few radical positions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what *energetick* operation he expanded them to such extent, and ramified them to so much variety, restrained as he was by religious reverence from *indiscreet* consciousness of fiction.

Here is a full display of the united force of study and genius; of a great accumulation of materials, with judgment to digest, and fancy to combine them: Milton was able to select from nature, or from story, from ancient fable, or from modern science, whatever could illustrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by study, and exalted by imagination.

It has been therefore said, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiasts, that in reading *Paradise Lost* we read a book of universal knowledge.

But original deficiency cannot be supplied. The want of human interest is always felt. *Paradise Lost* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. None ever wished it longer than it is. Its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure. We read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation; we desert our master, and seek for companions.

Another inconvenience of Milton's design is, that it requires the description of what cannot be described, the agency of spirits. He saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could not show angels acting but by instruments of action: he therefore invested them with form and matter. This, being necessary, was therefore defensible; and he should have secured the consistency of his system by keeping

immateriality out of sight, and enticing his reader to¹
 from his thoughts. But he has unhappily perplex
 poetry with his philosophy. His infernal and celestial
 are sometimes pure spirit, and sometimes animated
 When Satan walks with his lance upon the *burning*
 he has a body ; when, in his passage between hell and
 new world, he is in danger of sinking in the vacuity,
 supported by a gust of rising vapours, he has a body ;
 he animates the toad, he seems to be mere spirit, that
 10 penetrate matter at pleasure ; when he *starts up in his*
shape, he has at least a determined form ; and when
 brought before Gabriel, he has *a spear and a shield*, which
 had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms
 contending angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandemonium, being *incor-*
rupt spirits, are *at large, though without number*, in a limited
 yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mortals,
 their armour hurt them, *crushed in upon their substance,*
grown gross by sinning. This likewise happened to
 20 uncorrupted angels, who were overthrown *the sooner for*
arms, for unarmed they might easily as spirits have been
contraction or remove. Even as spirits they are
 spiritual ; for *contraction and remove* are images of matter,
 but if they could have escaped without their armour
 might have escaped from it, and left only the empty cor-
 ne battered. Uriel, when he rides on a sun-beam, is material
 Satan is material when he is afraid of the prowess of A-

The confusion of spirit and matter which pervades
 whole narration of the war of heaven fills it with im-
 30 purity : and the book, in which it is related, is, I believe,
 favourite of children, and gradually neglected as know-
 ledge is increased.

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot
 explained, may be considered that of allegorical persons
 which have no real existence. To exalt causes into agents
 to *personify* abstract ideas with form, and animate them

activity, has always been the right of poetry. But such airy beings are, for the most part, suffered only to do their natural office, and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a standard : but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real employment, or ascribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to shock the mind by ascribing effects to non-entity. In the *Prometheus* of *Æschylus*, we see *Violence* and *Strength*, and in the *Alcestis* of *Euripides*, we see *Death*, brought upon the stage, all as 10 active persons of the drama : but no precedents can justify absurdity.

Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portress of hell : but when they stop the journey of Satan, a journey described as real, and when Death offers him battle, the allegory is broken. That Sin and Death should have shewn the way to hell, might have been allowed : but they cannot facilitate the passage by building a bridge, because the difficulty of Satan's passage is described as real 20 and sensible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative. The hell assigned to the rebellious spirits is described as not less local than the residence of man. It is placed in some distant part of space, separated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotic waste and an unoccupied vacancy : but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a *mole of appressed soil*, cemented with *asphaltus* : a work too bulky for ideal architects.

This unskilful allegory appears to me one of the greatest faults of the poem : and to this there was no temptation, but 30 the author's opinion of its beauty.

To the conduct of the narrative some objections may be made. Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradise, and is suffered to go away unmolested. The creation of man is represented as the consequence of the vacancy left in heaven by the expulsion of the rebels ; yet

Satan mentions it as a report *rife in heaven* before his departure.

To find sentiments for the state of innocence, was very difficult ; and something of anticipation perhaps is now and then discovered Adam's discourse of dreams seems not to be the speculation of a new-created being. I know not whether his answer to the angel's reproof for curiosity does not want something of propriety : it is the speech of a man acquainted with many other men. Some philosophical
 10 notions, especially when the philosophy is false, might have been better omitted. The angel, in a comparison, speaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could understand the comparison.

Dryden remarks, that Milton has some flats among his elevations. This is only to say, that all the parts are not equal. In every work, one part must be for the sake of others ; a palace must have passages ; a poem must have transitions. It is no more to be required that wit should always be blazing, than that the sun should always stand at
 20 noon. In a great work there is a vicissitude of luminous and opaque parts, as there is in the world a succession of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the sky, may be allowed sometimes to revisit earth ; for what other author ever soared so high, or sustained his flight so long ?

Milton, being well versed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them ; and, as every man catches something from his companions, his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the Paradise of
 30 Fools : a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often ; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients ; his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art ; it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily remarked, and generally censured, and at last bear

so little proportion to the whole, that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critick.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance *Paradise Lost*; which he who can put in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull, as less to be censured for want of candour, than pitied for want of sensibility.

Of *Paradise Regained*, the general judgement seems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and everywhere instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of 10 *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of *Paradise Regained* is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this poem been written not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise.

If *Paradise Regained* has been too much depreciated, *Sampson Agonistes* has in requital been too much admired. It could only be by long prejudice, and the bigotry of learning, that Milton could prefer the ancient tragedies, with 20 their encumbrance of a chorus, to the exhibitions of the French and English stages; and it is only by a blind confidence in the reputation of Milton, that a drama can be praised in which the intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe.

In this tragedy are however many particular beauties, many just sentiments and striking lines; but it wants that power of attracting the attention which a well-connected plan produces.

Milton would not have excelled in dramatick writing; he 30 knew human nature only in the gross, and had never studied the shades of character, nor the combinations of concurring, or the perplexity of contending passions. He had read much, and knew what books could teach; but had mingled little in the world, and was deficient in the knowledge which experience must confer.

Through all his greater works there prevails an uniform peculiarity of *Diction*, a mode and cast of expression which bears little resemblance to that of any former writer, and which is so far removed from common use, that an unlearned reader, when he first opens his book, finds himself surprised by a new language.

This novelty has been, by those who can find nothing wrong in Milton, imputed to his laborious endeavours after words suitable to the grandeur of his ideas. *Our language*, 10 says Addison, *sunk under him*. But the truth is, that, both in prose and verse, he had formed his style by a perverse and pedantick principle. He was desirous to use English words with a foreign idiom. This in all his prose is discovered and condemned; for there judgement operates freely, neither softened by the beauty, nor awed by the dignity of his thoughts; but such is the power of his poetry, that his call is obeyed without resistance, the reader feels himself in captivity to a higher and a nobler mind, and criticism sinks in admiration.

20 Milton's style was not modified by his subject: what is shewn with greater extent in *Paradise Lost*, may be found in *Comus*. One source of his peculiarity was his familiarity with the Tuscan poets: the disposition of his words is, I think, frequently Italian; perhaps sometimes combined with other tongues. Of him, at last, may be said what Jonson says of Spenser, that *he wrote no language*, but has formed what Butler calls a *Babylonish Dialect*, in itself harsh and barbarous, but made by exalted genius, and extensive learning, the vehicle of so much instruction and so much pleasure, 30 that like other lovers, we find grace in its deformity.

Whatever be the faults of his diction, he cannot want the praise of copiousness and variety: he was master of his language in its full extent; and has selected the melodious words with such diligence, that from his book alone the Art of English Poetry might be learned.

After his diction, something must be said of his *versification*.

tion. The measure, he says, is the English heroick verse without rhyme. Of this mode he had many examples among the Italians, and some in his own country. The Earl of Surrey is said to have translated one of Virgil's books without rhyme; and, besides our tragedies, a few short poems had appeared in blank verse; particularly one tending to reconcile the nation to Raleigh's wild attempt upon Guiana, and probably written by Raleigh himself. These petty performances cannot be supposed to have much influenced Milton, who more probably took his hint from Trisino's Italia 19 Liberata; and, finding blank verse easier than rhyme, was desirous of persuading himself that it is better.

Rhyme, he says, and says truly, is no necessary adjunct of true poetry. But perhaps, of poetry as a mental operation, metre or musick is no necessary adjunct: it is however by the musick of metre that poetry has been discriminated in all languages; and in languages melodiously constructed with a due proportion of long and short syllables, metre is sufficient. But one language cannot communicate its rules to another: where metre is scanty and imperfect, some help is necessary. 20 The musick of the English heroick line strikes the ear so faintly that it is easily lost, unless all the syllables of every line cooperate together: this co-operation can be only obtained by the preservation of every verse unmingled with another, as a distinct system of sounds: and this distinctness is obtained and preserved by the artifice of rhyme. The variety of pauses, so much boasted by the lovers of blank verse, changes the measures of an English poet to the periods of a declaimer; and there are only a few skilful and happy readers of Milton, who enable their audience to perceive 20 where the lines end or begin. *Blank verse*, said an ingenious critick, seems to be verse only to the eye.

Poetry may subsist without rhyme, but English poetry will not often please: nor can rhyme ever be safely spared out where the subject is able to support itself. Blank verse makes some approach to that which is called the *lapidary*

style ; has neither the easiness of prose, nor the melody of numbers, and therefore tires by long continuance. Of the Italian writers without rhyme, whom Milton alleges as precedents, not one is popular ; what reason could urge in its defence, has been confuted by the ear.

But, whatever be the advantage of rhyme, I cannot prevail on myself to wish that Milton had been a rhymers ; for I cannot wish his work to be other than it is ; yet, like other heroes, he is to be admired rather than imitated. He that
10 thinks himself capable of astonishing, may write blank verse ; but those that hope only to please, must condescend to rhyme.

The highest praise of genius is original invention. Milton cannot be said to have contrived the structure of an epick poem, and therefore owes reverence to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations must be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interposition of dialogue, and all the stratagems that surprise and enchain attention. But,
20 of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is perhaps the least indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himself, confident of his own abilities, and disdainful of help or hindrance : he did not refuse admission to the thoughts or images of his predecessors, but he did not seek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received support ; there is in his writings nothing by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or favour gained ; no exchange of praise, nor solicitation of support. His great works were performed under discountenance, and in blindness, but difficulties van-
30 ished at his touch ; he was born for whatever is arduous ; and his work is not the greatest of heroick poems, only because it is not the first.

NOTES.

P. 1. l. 4. **Mr Fenton's elegant Abridgement.** "Elijah Fenton (1683-1730), who assisted Pope in translating Homer's *Odyssey*, 'undertook,' says Johnson in his life of Fenton, 'to revise the punctuation of Milton's poems, which, as the author neither wrote the original copy nor corrected the press, was supposed capable of amendment. To this edition he prefixed a short and elegant account of Milton's life, written at once with tenderness and integrity'" (Matthew Arnold, notes to *The Six Chief Lives* from Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*). The more important of the Lives to which Johnson refers were those by Anthony Wood, in *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and by Edward Philips, or Phillips, Milton's nephew.

ll. 7, 8. **descended Oxfordshire.** Masson, *Life of Milton*, i. 8, 9, says that "as to the alleged Miltons of Milton in Oxfordshire, the remote progenitors of the poet, research has been fruitless," and that "Philips's tradition of the ruin of the family by the Wars of the Roses is but the repetition of a legend common to many families."

l. 9. **the times of York and Lancaster, the Wars of the Roses.**

l. 11. **the White Rose, the House of York. keeper . Shotover,** the royal forest of Shotover was a tract of wooded land between the village of Holton, or Halton, and Oxford; but, according to Masson, *Life*, i. 10-12, none of the Miltons discovered as living in or about Holton "corresponds in all points to the description of the poet's grandfather—who was under-ranger of Shotover Forest . . ."

l. 12. **His grandfather John,** according to Masson, the Christian name of Milton's grandfather was Richard, not John. "One of the family [of the poet's ancestors], Richard Milton, of Stanton St. John's, yeoman, was very resolute in his adherence to the Old Religion, and is mentioned twice in the Recusant Rolls for Oxfordshire as among those who were heavily fined

towards the end of Elizabeth's reign (1601) for obstinate non-attendance at their parish-churches. He was the poet's grandfather, one of his sons, John Milton, being the poet's father" (*Milton's Poetical Works*, i. p. 296).

l. 13. **disinherited**, on account, it is said, of his turning Protestant.

l. 16. **scrivener**, literally a copyist, notary; from O. F. *escrivain*, Lat. *scriba*, a scribe. "The business of a scrivener in Old London was an important, and sometimes a lucrative, one. It consisted in the drawing up of wills, marriage settlements, and other deeds, the lending out of money for clients, and much else now done partly by attorneys and partly by law-stationers" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 297).

l. 18. **profession**, *sc.* of scrivener.

ll. 19, 20. **had . . . more . . . literature**, was a man of more than ordinary acquaintance with literature. 'To 'have' in this sense was a common idiom in former days with such words as 'learning,' 'literature,' 'scholarship,' etc.

l. 21. **one of . . . poems**, that entitled "Ad Patrem," an hexameter poem of a hundred and twenty lines written when Milton was staying with his father at Horton in Buckinghamshire in 1632 or 1633.

l. 22. **of the name . . . family**, according to one tradition her maiden name was Sarah Bradshaw; according to another, Sarah Caston; but recent researches have proved that her mother was wife of a Paul Jeffrey or Jeffreys, of an Essex family, and unless this lady was married more than once the maiden name of Milton's mother must have been Jeffrey or Jeffreys; "and it was probably," says Bradshaw, *Milton's Poetical Works*, Aldine ed., p. xviii., "her mother whom Aubrey discovered to be a Bradshaw."

l. 24. **as the law taught him**, here, as frequently in the *Life*, Johnson's Tory principles show themselves.

l. 25. **the King's party**, the royalist cause. For this adherence, and for having served as one of the King's Commissioners for sequestrating the estates of the Parliamentarians, he had, in 1646, to make submission to Parliament by taking the Covenant, and to sue out pardon by paying a fine on his property. After the Restoration he continued to practice as a barrister, and became a Benchet of the Inner Temple and Deputy Recorder of Ipswich. In 1686 he was sworn one of the Barons of the Exchequer, his character and the fact of his having become a Catholic recommending him to James. At the Revolution he retired into private life, and died at Ipswich in 1692, in his seventy-seventh year.

l. 26. **in quiet**, free from persecution.

P. 2, l. 1. **chamber-practice**, such as conveyancing, giving a legal opinion upon matters in dispute, without the necessity of appearing as counsel in Court.

l. 4. **disreputable compliances**, any act of surrendering his principles in compliance with the religious views of James the Second.

ll. 6, 7. **whom he married** Philips, this was in 1624; Edward Philips, or Phillips, was second clerk in the Government office called the Crown Office in Chancery.

ll. 10, 11. **at the Spread Eagle**, "In those days, houses in cities were not numbered as now; and persons in business, to whom it was of consequence to have a distinct address, effected the purpose by exhibiting over their door some sign or emblem. The scrivener Milton had a sign as well as his neighbors. It was an eagle with outstretched wings; and hence his house was known as the Spread Eagle in Bread Street" (Masson, *Life*, i. 2).

l. 13. **Bread Street**, running south from Cheapside, then as now one of the main thoroughfares of the City between Ludgate Hill and Cornhill. The street of Milton's day was destroyed in the Great Fire, 1666.

l. 16. **Thomas Young**, "afterwards a Puritan minister . . . and well known in his later life as a prominent divine of the Puritan party" (Masson, *Life*, i. 44).

l. 20. **St. Paul's School**, founded by Dean Colet, the friend of Erasmus, in 1512.

l. 21. **Gill**, Alexander, M. A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appointed in 1608.

l. 22. **entered a sizar**, this is not correct. Milton entered as a "lesser pensioner": "*pensionarius minor*," in the list of entries given by Masson, *Life*, i. 75, 6, the three classes of students being then, as he points out, 'greater pensioner,' corresponding with the 'fellow-commoner' of modern times, 'lesser pensioner,' and 'sizar.' A **sizar** at Cambridge, corresponding with a *servitor* at Oxford, is a student who pays lower fees than a *pensioner* or ordinary student, and has certain allowances of food made to him, which are called *sizings*, the word *siz* being an abbreviation of *assize*, i.e. quantity or ration of bread, etc. In former days a **sizar** had to perform certain menial duties, and his social position was much lower than that of a *pensioner*. To "enter" a sizar, pensioner, fellow-commoner (not 'enter as' a sizar, etc.), was and still is the technical phraseology at the Universities.

l. 26. **the learned Politian**, an Italian poet and dramatist (1454-1494) famous for his Latin as well as his Italian poems. These

former, for which he appears to have had an exaggerated admiration, Johnson in his earlier days proposed to edit with notes containing a history of modern Latin verse.

ll. 27, 8. **seems to commend... posterity**, seems to show that he wished to draw the favourable notice of posterity to the early age at which he became highly skilled in Latin composition.

ll. 29, 30. **his vernal fertility**, his youthful proficiency and readiness in versifying.

l. 30. **Cowley**, 1608-1667, one of the so-called "metaphysical poets," for whom Johnson, like Dryden in his earlier days, had an admiration which later times have not endorsed.

l. 34. **a date... sixteen**, *i.e.* till he had completed sixteen years. So, as Masson points out, when he says "*anno aetatis 17*," which should mean 'in his seventeenth year,' *i.e.* 16 years old, Milton means that he was 17 years old, or, as we should say, 'in his eighteenth year.'

P. 3, l. 5. **nice discernment**, accurate discrimination as to their merits.

l. 6. **Polybius**, the celebrated Greek historian, born about B.C. 204.

l. 8. **the revival of letters**, a phrase in common use for the revival of learned studies, about A.D. 1450, after their eclipse during the "Dark Ages"; also sometimes called the "Renaissance."

l. 10. **Haddon**, Walter (1516-1572), whose Latinity has been extolled by many critics, though Hallam, a trustworthy judge, has not much to say in his favour. His *Orations* were published in 1567: **Ascham** (1515-1568), author of the *Schoolmaster* and *Toxophilus*, "whose knowledge of ancient languages was not shown in profuse quotation, or enveloped in Latin phrase, but served to enrich his mind with valuable sense, and taught him to transfer the firmness and precision of ancient writers to our own English..." (Hallam, *Literary History*, i. 348).

l. 12. **we**, *i.e.* Englishmen.

l. 14. **Alabaster's Roxana**, a tragedy largely imitated from the *Dalida* of Groto, an Italian dramatist of the sixteenth century; published in 1632, though written some forty years earlier.

l. 15. **exercises**, "the periodical Latin debates and declamations, in College or in the Public Schools of the University, which formed so conspicuous a part of the old system of Cambridge training" (Masson, *P. W.* i. p. 5). The exercises here referred to were seven in number, "filling in all about sixty dense octavo pages," and published in a volume entitled *Autoris jam olim in Collegio adolescentis Profusiones quaedam Oratoriae*. Translations of them are given in Masson's *Life*, i. 206-31.

1. 19. **with no great fondness**, Milton's unpopularity, such as it was, seems to have been among the rougher men of his college, by whom, says Masson, "he was nicknamed '*The Lady*' on account of his fair complexion, feminine and graceful appearance and a certain haughty delicacy in his tastes and morals." That before he left college he had won the admiration and respect of the dons and the affection of some of the best of his fellow students, we have certain proof; and the story of his "personal correction" rests merely on a "MS. jotting of the old gossip, Aubrey" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 258).

1. 20. **fellowship**, a "fellow" of a college is one who as a reward for the high degree he has taken receives an annual income from his college, with rooms in the college buildings, and other privileges. That Milton did not obtain a fellowship was probably in part due to the opinions he held on religious questions; but in those days fellowships were not always determined by merit, while the Crown sometimes interfered, as it did in the case of Milton's friend, Edward King, in behalf of those recommended to it by considerations of birth or political connection.

1. 23. **in either university**, *i.e.* Oxford or Cambridge. In Johnson's day "the Universities" meant Oxford and Cambridge; Dublin, the only other University in existence, not being recognized as on terms of equality with its older sisters; and the expression is still sometimes used in this restricted sense.

1. 25. **in the violence . hostility**, when, in later years, he was engaged in bitter polemical controversies.

11. 25, 6. **objected to him**, cast in his teeth.

1. 28. **Diodati**, Charles Diodati, of Italian extraction, whose family had settled in England, a schoolfellow of Milton's at St. Paul's and the dearest friend through his youth and early manhood. To him were addressed two of Milton's Elegies, and on his death, in 1638, was written the *Epitaphium Dionæis*, a poem in Latin hexameters of some two hundred lines. **Rustication**, the being sent down from college into the country (*rūs*); at present always with the consequence that the student loses a term, and is not able to take his degree at the time he would ordinarily have done so. Milton was indeed 'sent down' in consequence of a disagreement with his tutor, Chappell, his absence probably extending "over the whole of the Easter vacation and part of the Easter term; but, at length, an arrangement was made which permitted him to return in time to save that term, and to exchange the tutorship of Chappell for that of Tovey" (Masson, *L. J.* i. 121).

P. 4. 11. 2, 3. **with no kindness institution**, with no feelings of affection towards it as a University.

ll. 4, 5. **captious perverseness**, wrong-headedness, which made him ever ready to take objection to the discipline prescribed.

l. 6. **inscribed, dedicated**.

l. 7. **Hartlib**, this was Samuel Hartlib, a well-known London merchant, half-Polish, half-English, with whom Milton had formed a friendship, and to whom in 1644 he addressed his *Tract on Education*. **supersedes**, would do away with.

l. 9. **their entrance upon grammar**, the first beginnings of instruction in languages.

l. 10. **proceed**, a technical term at the Universities for taking the degree of Master of Arts at the end of seven years from the date of matriculation.

l. 11. **On the Likeliest ... Church**, this Tract on Disestablishment and Disendowment was in 1659 addressed by Milton to the Restored Rump Parliament, which however was too busy with other matters, even if willing, to take up the subject. The **Hirelings** are those who had entered the Church merely for the sake of a livelihood, those who

“for their bellies’ sake
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold !
Of other care they little reckoning make,
Than how to scramble at the shearers’ feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest”

—(*Lycidas*, 114-8).

ll. 12, 3. **lands forfeited ... uses**, *i.e.* by the statutes of Mortmain, by which open conveyances of lands to religious houses had been prohibited.

ll. 15, 6. **a competency of learning**, the acquisition of learning sufficient for their station in life.

l. 18. **tithes**, the tenth of the produce as offered to the clergy.

ll. 20, 1. **entering ... Church**, a common, though inaccurate, term for being ordained a minister.

l. 22. **subscribe slave**, write himself down a slave to the ordinances and doctrines of the Church. The quotations here are from *The Reason of Church Government*, published in 1641.

l. 24. **retch**, bring up again, vomit up; A.S. *hræcan*, to try to vomit, from A.S. *hræc*, a cough, or spittle.

ll. 25, 6. **the office of speaking**, *i.e.* as mouthpiece of the Church.

l. 27. **forswearing**, perjury; *for-* in composition represents the Latin *per* = through, thoroughly, and adds an intensive meaning, as in the Latin *perjurare*, to swear out and out, and hence to swear falsely.

ll. 28, 9. **subscription of the Articles**, the formality of signing one's name to the xxxix. Articles of the Church, whereby assent and obedience in matters of doctrine is implied. Such subscription had already been made twice by Milton when taking his B.A. and M.A. degrees, and Masson supposes (*Life*, i. 247) that "what he had in view, when he hesitated to become a clergyman, was, in all probability, less the letter of the articles to be subscribed and of the oaths to be taken, than the general condition of the Church at that particular time."

l. 30. **canonical obedience**, obedience to the canons or rules of the Church as regards discipline, etc.

l. 31. **to thwart his opinions**, to cross, run counter to, the opinions held by him.

ll. 31, 2. **but the thoughts** indignation, the idea of restriction whether by canonical or civil ordinance was utterly repugnant to him.

ll. 33, 4. **not yet** resolution, which perhaps had not yet gone so far as to determine him to decline, etc. This letter, of which there are two drafts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, was apparently written at the end of 1631 or the beginning of 1632 "to some friend in Cambridge, his senior in years, who had been remonstrating with him on his aimless course of life at the University" (Masson, *Life*, i. 244).

ll. 35, 6. **his suspended . . . life**, his suspension and putting off to some future time of the serious study which should fit him for ordination.

P. 5. l. 1. **curiosity**, eager prying into all kinds of knowledge.

ll. 1, 2. **fantastick knowledge**, fanciful indulgence of his thirst for knowledge in a variety of subjects, as opposed to concentration of such knowledge as pertained to his immediate purpose of entering the Church,—a purpose which his friend still supposed him to have in view.

l. 2. **cool**, calm, not angry.

ll. 6, 7. **not taking** fit, considering the question of entering the Church earlier or later as one of less importance than that of making himself really fit for the profession.

l. 9. **Horton**, near Cohnbrook, in Buckinghamshire.

ll. 11, 2. **With what** us? When Milton speaks thus, no one can say what writers were included in this word *all*, for that he should have read the whole body of Greek and Roman literature is impossible. What Milton himself said was, "There I spent a complete holiday in turning over the Greek and Latin writers."

ll. 14, 5. **the masque of Comus**, presented, *i.e.* brought out on the stage, at Ludlow Castle, 1634, before the Earl of Bridge-

water, John Egerton, born about 1579, son of the famous Lord Chancellor Ellesmere: *masque*, "it is usual to write *mask* in the sense of visor, and *masque* in the sense of masquerade: there is no reason for this distinction . . . No doubt it is, and long has been, generally supposed that the entertainment takes its name from the visor, according to the French usage; but it is remarkable that the sense of entertainment is the true one, the use of the visor at such entertainments being (from an etymological point of view) an accident. The sense of entertainment is the usual one in old authors . . ." (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*); who goes on to show that the origin is the F. *masque*, a visor, *masquerade*, a mask or mummery, a form borrowed from Span. *mascarada*, a masquerade, from *mascara*, a masker, masquerader, which again is from Arab. *mashkarat*, a buffoon, a fool, jester, etc.

l. 18. **Homer's Circe**, a mythical sorceress, daughter of Helios (the Sun), who lived in the island of *Acæa*, and with whom Odysseus is represented in Homer's *Odyssey* as having stayed a year, after she had changed several of his companions into swine.

ll. 21, 2. **a quo . . . aquis**, from whom, as from an ever-flowing source, the lips of bards are moistened with the waters of the Muses' stream; from Ovid, *Amer.* iii. 9. 25.

l. 26. **much a favourite**, we should now say 'much of a favourite' or 'a great favourite.'

l. 27. **the wits**, men of intellect and learning.

ll. 29, 30. **according . . . poetry**, which allowed of a variety of length such as is found in *Lycidas*; see Introduction.

l. 31. **some lines**, the famous vision of St. Peter, ll. 113-131, in which Milton foretold the downfall of the corrupted English clergy.

l. 33. **his Arcades**, probably written in 1634. To explain the nature of the poem, Milton added to its title the words "Part of an Entertainment [*i.e.* Masque] presented to the Countess-Dowager of Derby at Harefield by some noble persons of her Family."

P. 6, l. 4. **the Inns of Court**, of these the chief were the Inner and Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, near which Milton resided.

l. 5. **the death of his mother**, at Horton, April 3, 1637. So long as she was alive Milton's love for her made him reluctant to leave England.

l. 7. **precept of prudence**, wise maxim. "Wotton (1568-1639), a scholar, diplomatist, and poet, died Provost of Eton. His life was written by Izaak Walton" (Matthew Arnold). Wotton's letter will be found at length prefixed to *Comus*. The words

quoted by him, which he speaks of as having found a 'Delphian oracle,' were part of the advice given him by one Alberto Scipioni, 'an old Roman courtier' with whom he lodged at Siena.

l. 10. **Paris**, where he seems to have arrived late in April or early in May, 1638.

l. 11. **Lord Scudamore**, John, Viscount Sligo, then ambassador of King Charles.

l. 12. **Grotius**. "Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a scholar, theologian, and diplomatist; one of the most celebrated men whom Holland has produced" (Matthew Arnold). Grotius was at this time much occupied with a scheme for the union of all the Protestant Churches, and through Lord Scudamore in communication with Laud on the subject. For this among other reasons he would be likely to welcome a visit from Milton.

ll. 17, 8. **found his way into the academies**, at Florence Milton "remained about two months (Aug -Sept. 1638), enchanted with the beauties and antiquities of the famous city, and forming acquaintanceships with many of the wits and scholars then living in it. Seven Florentines, most of them young men, leaders in the chief Academies or Literary Clubs of Florence, are particularly named by him as friends whose merits, and courtesies to himself, he could never forget. These were Jacopo Gaddi, Carlo Dati, Pietro Frescobaldi, Agostino Coltellini, Benedetto Buonmattei, Valerio Chimentelli, and Antonio Francini" (Masson, *P. W.* pp. 10, 11).

l. 22. **propensity of nature**, natural inclination, tendency.

l. 23. **as they**, *i.e.* that they should not let it die. From *The Reason of Church Government*, etc.

l. 29. **set its value high**, considered that praise from him was something of great value.

l. 31. **the waste of time**, the ravages of time: **certain**, unfailing.

l. 34. **wanted**, lacked, failed to obtain.

l. 35. **inscription**, dedication; as "inscribed," p. 4, l. 6. **in the style**, "By a 'lapidary style' Johnson means the style usually adopted in monumental inscriptions. . . Elsewhere he says, 'the writer of an epitaph must not be considered as saying nothing but what is true. Allowance must be made for some degree of exaggerated praise. In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath'" (Firth).

P. 7, l. 1. **are . . . too . . . topicks**, treat of common subjects in too elaborate and long-winded a style.

l. 3. **Sienna**, between thirty and forty miles due south of Florence; then the usual route from Florence to Rome.

l. 5. **Holstenius**, or Lucas Holsten, a learned German settled in

Rome as secretary to Cardinal Barberini, and one of the librarians of the Vatican.

l. 7. **Cardinal Barberini**, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, prime minister of Rome, and chief councillor of his uncle Pope Urban, a great patron of literary men; at his palace Milton first heard the famous singer Leonora Baroni, by some supposed to be the subject of his Italian Sonnets.

l. 9. **Salsilli**, Giovanni Salsilli, a "Roman Poet," as Milton calls him, to whom is addressed one of the poems among the *Sylva*. Of **Selvaggi**, nothing has been discovered: **distich**, couplet: **tetrastick**, quatrain, or stanza of four verses. This distich of Selvaggi, Salsilli's tetrastick, and Manso's lines mentioned below, are prefixed to Milton's Latin poems.

l. 11. **commerce**, intercourse.

ll. 12, 3. **though not ... grammarian**, though not without faults of idiom that a severe critic might point out.

l. 18. **non tam de se, quam supra se**, not so much about himself as above himself, *i.e.* exaggerated encomiums.

ll. 21, 2. **count pictures**, glance at as many as he could in a hurried walk round the galleries.

l. 22. **contemplation**, careful observation and study.

ll. 24, 5. **Naples**, probably in November, 1638: **a hermit**, "a certain Eremitic Friar," as Milton calls him, whose name has not been discovered.

l. 26. **Manso**, Giovanni Battista Manso, then nearly eighty years of age, to whom Milton addresses another of his Latin hexameter poems. Manso was himself an author of poems and of philosophical dialogues; but is better known as a liberal patron of Art and Literature, and as the bosom friend of Tasso and Marini.

l. 29. **sorry**, poor, indifferent. This distich as translated by Masson runs as follows: "Mind, form, grace, and morals are perfect; if but thy creed were, Then not Anglie alone, truly Angelic thou'dst be."

l. 33. **differences**, points in dispute.

P. 8. ll. 2, 3. **plots ... Jesuits**, there were English Jesuits, resident at Rome, of whom Milton says he was warned that they were on the watch to entrap him into some danger from the Papal police.

l. 5. **kept on his way**, pursued his usual course of life, *i.e.*, as Johnson goes on to say, "neither obtruding nor shunning controversy."

l. 7. **Galileo**, born at Pisa in 1563, a poet, a scholar, and a musician, as well as a mathematician of the highest fame; first

condemned for heresy by the Inquisition in 1616 and a second time in 1632: "a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought," *Areopagitica*, p. 60. Arber's Reprints; at the time of Milton's visit to Florence he was living at his Villa d'Aretri, a little way out of that city, and still, though formally liberated, under certain restrictions imposed by the Inquisition.

l. 15. **Lucca**, in Tuscany, about forty miles due west of Florence. Masson supposes Milton to have visited this place in order that he "might see the town whence Diodati derived his lineage" (*L.L.G.*, i. 651).

l. 16. **sent away**, *i.e.* to England. Many of these books, according to Phillips, were "music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy."

ll. 17, 8. **which he probably — orthodoxy**, Geneva being the headquarters of the Calvinistic school of theology; said with something of a sneer.

l. 26. **Epitaphium Damonis**, see note p. 3, l. 28. It is not certain that he did not hear of his friend's death when staying at Geneva with John Diodati, the uncle.

l. 32. **the world**, *sc.* of fashion, the progress of which in London has for generations been from the east to the west, so that streets fashionable even in Johnson's time are now given up to mercantile purposes.

P. o. l. 4. **vapours away his patriotism**, allows his patriotism to evaporate in nothing more adventurous than keeping a school. This is an unworthy sarcasm. Milton when abroad had been misled as to the actual state of affairs in England, and on his return found no scope for an active interference in political matters.

l. 7. **to a schoolmaster**, to the position of a schoolmaster. It should be remembered that Johnson himself was at one time a schoolmaster and found it a very trying occupation.

ll. 12, 3. **His father was alive**, he had not yet come into any property from his father.

ll. 28, 9. **the Georgick**, Virgil's poem of the four Georgics, in which agriculture in its various forms is treated of.

l. 31. **projectors**, probably here used in the depreciatory sense which attached to the word in consequence of the wild and dishonest projects put forward by men who took this title.

ll. 32, 3. **what was wanting** — life, what was necessary to render life more interesting and more useful. Cowley is supposed by Johnson to have had better means of judging because he mixed more in society than did Milton.

l. 34. **his imaginary college**, his college which, like Plato's

Republic, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or More's *Utopia*, was nothing more than an ideal scheme. This "refers to Cowley's scheme for the establishment of what he terms 'a philosophical college,' entitled 'A proposition for the advancement of experimental philosophy'" ... (Firth).

P. 10. l. 7. **prove... opinions.** show by the results that the opinions were founded on reason.

l. 12. **at leisure**, such as we pursue at leisure times.

ll. 12, 3. **Physiological learning**, "in this passage means knowledge of natural science" ... (Firth): **of such rare emergence**, so seldom coming to the surface, so seldom finding opportunity for display, use.

l. 15. **prudential character**, character as a man of sobriety and foresight. Masson, *Life*, iii. 252, criticizing Johnson's criticism, remarks, that in reality "Milton included all that Johnson wanted to have included, and more largely and systematically than Johnson would have dared to dream of, and for the same reasons. The introduction of Natural and Physical Science into schools was but a portion, though an emphatic portion, of Milton's project. And, with respect to this portion of his project ... subsequent opinion has more and more pronounced, and is more and more pronouncing, for Milton and against Johnson. The fairer criticism now would be as to the *mode* in which Milton proposed to teach Natural and Physical Science, and knowledge generally [*i.e.* through the medium of the Greek and Latin languages] ... This taken out of the Scheme, all the rest lasts, and is as good now, and perhaps as needful, as it was in Milton's time" ...

l. 21. **pedantick**, a 'pedant' is properly nothing more than a schoolmaster, from It. *pedante*, but the word early came to be used for one who makes an ostentatious display of learning.

l. 22. **paradoxical**, given to the utterance of paradox, that which is contrary to received opinion; from Gk. *παρά*, beside, and *δόξα*, notion, opinion.

ll. 23, 4. **to turn... life**, to direct philosophy towards an inquiry into the affairs of life around us instead of the study of things in the natural world that are beyond our ken; or, as Socrates put it, to bring down philosophy from the clouds to the earth.

l. 30. "Ὅττι... τέτυκται, what mischance and what good fortune have happened in your house, Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 392; so far as Johnson's application goes, *τέτυκται* is present "whatever happens."

ll. 31, 2. **this wonder-working academy**, this school from which such great things were to be expected.

P. 11. ll. 6, 7. **writers . . . universities**, such as Wollebius, 1536-1626, a divine of Basle, Amesius (*i.e.* Ames, an Englishman), 1576-1633, who, driven abroad by Bancroft's severity, lived for some time at the Hague, and afterwards was a professor in the University of Franeker, in Friesland.

l. 11. **Gray's Inn**. "Only this advantage he had," says Phillips, "that once in three weeks or a month he would drop into the society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, whereof were Mr. Alphy and Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's Inn, the beaui of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days. With these gentlemen he would so far make bold with his body as now and then to keep a gaudy-day," *i.e.* a feast day, a holiday.

l. 13. **lent his breath . . . contention**, helped by his writings to embitter the religious and political controversies of the day.

ll. 16, 7. **inferior . . . learning**, Firth points out that it was inferiority not in learning but in eloquence that Milton referred to, and that by 'eloquence' he meant the 'sharp taunts,' the 'quips and snapping adages' and the 'coy flirting style' in which Hall indulged.

l. 18. **Hall** (1574-1656), bishop of Exeter and afterwards of Norwich. His pamphlet, published in January 1640, with no name to it, was entitled *Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament: By a Dutifull Soune of the Church*.

l. 21. **Smectymnuus**, the five ministers were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, the first letters of whose Christian names and surnames make up the word.

l. 23. **Usher**, Archbishop of Dublin, founder of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and author of *Annals of the Old Testament*. The title of this pamphlet, published in May 1641, was *The Judgement of Dr. Rainolds touching the originall of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed out of Antiquity by James, Archbishop of Armagh*. Dr. John Reynolds was an Elizabethan divine who in 1584 had written on the subject of Episcopacy.

l. 24. **Of Prelatical Episcopacy**, a pamphlet consisting of twenty-four small quarto pages, published anonymously.

ll. 24, 5. **may be deduced**, can be deduced; **may** originally meant 'to be able,' A.S. *magan*, and this sense is frequent in Elizabethan English.

l. 25. **Apostolical Times**, age of the Apostles who propagated the Christian religion.

ll. 29, 30. **contemptuous mention**, as shown by the words "goes Armagh," which in Johnson's opinion evidently infer that

Milton could hardly believe the treatise to be written by one in such a position.

ll. 30, 1. **the puritanical ... manners**, the rough manners affected by the Puritans.

l. 32. **Prelacy**, a 'Prelate' is literally nothing more than 'one set above others,' from Lat. *prælatus*, set above, but the term was restricted to mean 'a church dignitary,' 'bishop,' and **Prelacy** is this system of church government by bishops.

l. 33. **discovers**, exhibits, allows to be seen.

P. 12, ll. 2, 3. **that can enrich ... knowledge**, which is able to bestow all knowledge and the powers of declaring that knowledge.

ll. 3-5. **sends out ... pleases**, by means of his angels purifies the minds of those whom he chooses as his agents and interpreters, and inspires them with his will. **Seraphim**, a Hebrew plural, from which we get the English word *seraph*; said to mean 'high' or 'exalted,' the seraphim being angels of the highest rank in the angelic order.

l. 7. **all seemly ... affairs**, all studies and matters of a becoming and noble character.

ll. 7-9. **till which ... expectation**, until he shall have completed the course of reading which he has laid down for himself, *and shall have found himself incapable of the great end he proposes to himself*, Milton will continue to cherish the hope of producing something that may be of use and honour to his country.

l. 13. **vomited ... university**, expelled from the University as something injurious to its well-being, like food from which the stomach revolts as being injurious to bodily health. This charge Milton, *Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*, etc., describes as a "commodious lie," commodious as giving him an opportunity of acknowledging publicly the extraordinary "favour and respect" which he had experienced from the authorities of his College and others during his student-life at Cambridge.

ll. 17-20. **As for the common ... with me**, if my critic supposes me likely to acknowledge that I in the least value myself upon the approbation, or think less of myself for the disapprobation, of the ordinary residents (as opposed to the Fellows of his College) of the University in its present condition, he only shows his extreme folly; if he **think to obtain with me**, if he fancies that he can get the better of me by bringing me to admit that such considerations weigh with me.

ll. 20-6. **of small practice ... physick**, he would show himself to be the merest empiric, the merest tiro in knowledge, who could not see, by the experience of what persons she and her sister

(Oxford) have driven out of their fold, that she ever persistently cherishes those who are a disgrace to her, while she as persistently rejects those who would be an honour to her : those she now thrusts forth from her, she thrusts forth not because they are harmful to her, but because she is in so unhealthy a state that she is unable to assimilate what is for her well-being : but before she can hope to be brought back to a sound state, she will have to submit to a discipline of the most rigorous kind. To **keck**, to retch, choke, be inclined to be sick : **queasy**, qualmish, feeling nausea towards : often used in a figurative sense, as in *Much Ado*, ii. 1. 399, "I will so practise on Benedick that, in despite of his quick wit and his *queasy* stomach, he shall fall in love with Beatrice." Throughout the passage Milton is keeping up the figurative language suggested by his opponent's expression "*vomited out of the university.*"

l. 27. **in my younger judgement**, even when I was less capable of forming a sound opinion. What Shakespeare, *A. C.* i. 5. 73, calls "My salad days. When I was green in judgement."

l. 32. **incontinence**, unchastity. Milton specifically defends himself from such a charge in his *Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*, etc., published in 1642 (see Masson, *Life*, ii. pp. 398 *et seq.*), and again in his *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654 (see Masson, *Life*, i. 658).

P. 13, ll. 2, 3. **some chaplain in hand**, some petty subordinate who is being trained up for the priesthood. **some squire** ... **prelate**, some mere personal attendant upon his bishop, whose duties are rather those of a lackey than of an ordained minister of the Church.

ll. 3, 4. **one who serves** **court cupboard**, one who not only helps in the service of the Church, but takes part in serving repasts, etc. A **court-cupboard** was a sort of movable sideboard, without doors or drawers, on which was displayed the plate of the household, flagons, cups, etc. Cp. *R. J.* i. 5. 8, "Away with the joint-stools, remove the *court-cupboard*."

ll. 4, 5. **he will bestow** **himself**, he is determined to give us an outline of his acquirements and capacities ; **model**, used both of the pattern of something to be made, and also of the representation in little of something greater already in existence.

ll. 5, 6. **sets me out** **mottos**, is good enough to parade for my edification a string of rickety adages ; **me**, what grammarians call the ethical dative, adding vividness, and here a contemptuous tone, to the narrative ; **ptisical**, literally consumptive ; more properly written *phthisical*, from Gk. *phthisis*, phthisis, consumption, a decline, decay. The difficulty, as Skeat points out, of sounding *phth* was got over by substituting *t* for the com-

pound sound, a solution also seen in the Italian *tisica*, Spanish *tisica*, *tisis*.

l. 6. **wherever he had them**, picked up heaven only knows where; again emphasizing Milton's scorn.

ll. 6, 7. **hopping short ... fits**, which fail to reach the point at which they aim, just as some poor wretch, racked with convulsive fits, fails to make his way to the point to which he would guide his steps; **in the measure** is probably used in a twofold sense, (1) = according to the manner and method, (2) with a sarcastic reference to the word in the sense of a stately dance.

ll. 7-10. **in which ... posies**, and in the throes of giving birth to his ideas, his wit, nearly perishing, produces, instead of shapely and well-balanced periods, a mere farrago of such empty adages as are to be seen engraved upon rings; the figure is that of a woman in childbirth, the throes of which nearly kill her, and whose infant owing to the extremity of her agony comes forth not well-formed and healthy but distorted and incomplete. The **thumbing** of former days was a plain broad gold ring which grave persons used to wear on the thumb; Nares quotes i. *ll. 11*. ii. 4. 365, "I could have crept into any alderman's *thumbing*," and Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable*, "An alderman—I may say to you, he has no more wit than the rest of the bench, *and that lies in his thumbing*." The **posies**, *i.e.* poetical mottoes, were common not only upon rings but upon swords, knives, chimneys, etc.: Cp. *M. V.* v. 1. 148, 151, "a paltry ring That she did give to me, whose *posy* was For all the world like cutler's poetry Upon a knife, 'Love me and leave me not.'"

ll. 9, 10. **this section ... himself**, this section of his work in which he only anatomizes himself for our behalf and amusement.

l. 13. **that hell ... frown**, from *Paradise Lost*, ii. 718, 9. "So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell Grew darker at their frown."

l. 14. **Reading**, in Berkshire, captured by Essex, the Parliamentary general, in 1643.

l. 15. **Whitsuntide**, the time of Whitsunday, or White Sunday, as it was originally written (another name for Pentecost), a word supposed to have been derived from the *white garments* used in baptisms and ordinations frequent at that season. For a fuller account, see Skeat, *Ety. Dict.* s. v. Whitsunday.

l. 17. **a justice of the peace**, the title given to persons of position and credit appointed to maintain the peace in the counties in which they reside. The Powells lived at Forest Hill, not far from the old Forest of Shotover, about four miles from Oxford.

ll. 20, l. **spare** . study, what Wordsworth calls "plain living and high thinking."

l. 24. **to have her company**, to be allowed to have her to stay with them.

l. 26. **Michaelmas**, the feast of St. Michael, September 29th.

ll. 28, 9. **Lady Margaret Leigh**, or **Ley**, one of the daughters of James Ley, first Earl of Marlborough, a title conferred upon him by Charles in 1626-7. Lady Margaret married a Captain Hobson, and both she and her husband seem to have taken the Parliamentary side. Milton addresses his tenth Sonnet to this lady.

l. 33. **had no answer**, received no answer.

ll. 34, 5. It could . **miscarry**, *i.e.* in order that the excuse might not be made that his letters had never reached her.

P. 14, l. 2. **Cavaliers**, and therefore hostile to a man of Milton's principles.

l. 5. **repudiate**, put away as wife.

ll. 8, 9. **The Doctrine of Divorce**, the first edition of the former of these two tracts was published Aug. 1st, 1643, not, as Johnson says, in 1644, the 2nd edition in Febr. 1643-4; and the second tract in July 1644. Regarding the former tract, Masson (*Life*, iii. 45-7) points out this dilemma, that if Phillips is right in his statement that it was caused by the obstinate refusal of his wife to return to him, then Phillips' dates in the whole matter of the marriage must be somewhat wrong; or, if Phillips is right, then the tract must have been written while Milton's wife was still with him, and published before she could have reached her father's house. As to the second tract, Milton shortly after bringing out the second edition of the first tract discovered that Martin Bucer had in 1557 published a treatise entitled *De Regno Christi ad Edwardum VI.*, in which views similar to those of the first tract had been set forth, and hence the title of the second tract. Bucer, coming over from Germany in 1549, had been appointed by Edward VI. Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, where he died, Feb. 28, 1550-51.

l. 10. **Tetrachorden**, Greek for 'of the four strings,' a title chosen by Milton for the third of his four treatises on Divorce. It appeared in March 1644-5, and its sub-title was "Exposition upon the four chief places in Scripture which treat of Marriage or nullities in Marriage"; it is referred to in Sonnets xi. and xii.

l. 12. **innovation**, *sc.* of putting away a wife without the Church's sanction to a divorce.

l. 13. **their famous assembly**, the Assembly of Puritan Divines which Parliament, having decreed the abolition of Episcopacy in

England, summoned at Westminster, July 1, 1643, to advise it as to the forms and creed of the future National Church. By this Assembly complaint was made to Parliament of Milton's doctrines, and his writings as a consequence were twice made the subject of Parliamentary notice and inquiry.

l. 17. **dismiss him**, let him off without calling upon him for his defence. This escape was mainly due to the Independents, whose views Milton had espoused as against the Presbyterians, for though his Divorce doctrine shocked many of them "as well as the Presbyterians, the general feeling of the Independents was that it ought to be regarded in his case only as the eccentric speculation of a very able and noble man. He was therefore let alone" ... (Masson, *P. W.* i. 241).

ll. 18, 9. **There seems not ... eminence**, this appears to be an insufficient account of the matter. "It is impossible now," says Masson, *ubi supra*, "to imagine adequately the commotion caused in the religious world of London and of England by Milton's four Divorce Pamphlets. He was denounced and stigmatised at once as a heretic of the worst kind, the promulgator of a doctrine of hideous import, that would corrupt public morals and sap the very foundations of society. He was preached against from the pulpit, written against in books, named everywhere among the orthodox with horror and execration."

l. 20, 1. **a Serving .. Solicitor**, a menial who has taken upon himself to become an advocate. Who this was is unknown, but Milton says that he was once "an actual serving-man," *i.e.* menial, and he further calls him in his *Colasterion*, or Castigation, "a serving-man both by nature and function, an idiot by breeding, and a solicitor by presumption." Howel, James Howel or Howell, historiographer to Charles the First, author of *Dodona's Grove*, *Instructions for Foreign Travel*, etc., etc., 1594-1666.

l. 26. **From this time .. before**, Milton's severance, however, from the Presbyterian party was not wholly, or even mainly, due to their attitude towards him in regard to his Divorce doctrine. Though he "had been the friend and adviser of the five Smeectymnurs who were now leading Presbyterians in the Westminster Assembly, though he had himself in his Anti-Episcopal pamphlets advocated what was substantially a Presbyterian constitution for the Church of England, and though, with hundreds of thousands of other Englishmen, he had signed the Solemn League and Covenant and welcomed the Scots, he had, by a natural course of events, been led to repudiate utterly the Presbyterians, the Scots, and their principles, and to regard them as narrow-minded and pragmatistical men, enemies to English freedom" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 25). In his Sonnet *On*

the New Forces of Conscience under the Long Parliament, written about 1646, he says, "New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large."

l. 28. **by his humour**, according to his fancy and inclinations.

l. 34. **of great accomplishments**, nowadays generally used in the restricted sense of skill in music, painting, dancing, etc., but formerly comprising also more solid acquirements.

l. 36. **endeavour a re-union**, the word **endeavour** in this sense has now gone out of use; we say 'endeavour to procure, etc., a union, re-union,' etc., but not 'endeavour a union,' etc.

P 15, ll. 1, 2. **in the lane of St. Martin's-le-Grand**, near Aldersgate Street

l. 6. **perseverance**, we should now rather say 'persistence,' **perseverance** being more generally used of the continuous exertion of praiseworthy effort, though the word, from Lat. *per*, thoroughly, and *severus*, strict, has not in itself any such restricted sense.

l. 8. **an act of oblivion**, a technicality taken from legal enactments, such as the Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion passed at the Restoration.

l. 9. **It were injurious**, it would be unfair to his memory.

l. 11. **distressed**, *i.e.* by the persecution of the Puritans.

l. 13. **Areopagitica**, published in November, 1644, and addressed to the Parliament, urging them to repeal an Ordinance they had passed in June, 1643, for the Regulation of the Press by a staff of official censors. "Areopagitica—that which appertains to the Areopagus. There is at Athens a hill, formerly called ὁ Ἄρειος πύλος, 'the hill of Ares' the 'Mars' hill' of Acts xvii. 22, whereon used to assemble a Council, called 'The Council of the Areopagus.' Besides supreme judicial authority in cases of wilful murder, this Council possessed very large social influence; having the general undefined superintendence of religion, morals, education, and the like. It appears to have been strongly conservative in tone, and seems to have occupied a somewhat similar position in the Athenian republic to that of the House of Lords in the British constitution" (Arber, *Reprints, Areopagitica*, p. 80).

ll. 17, 8. **which human solve**, this problem has been pretty well solved in modern times by the unrestricted freedom of publication of everything not absolutely obscene, the evils resulting from restraint having been found greater than the dangers from sedition and scepticism. Milton's arguments in the *Areopagitica* have in short made themselves fully and conclusively felt.

ll. 19, 20. **power ... truth**, it will rest with those in power to define what is truth and what is falsehood.

l. 22. **settlement**, settled government.

l. 25. **The remedy**, not the remedy which is efficacious, but the remedy which has been adopted.

l. 29. **promotes the book**, increases the sale of the book both on account of men's curiosity and their resentment against anything that looks tyrannical.

l. 34. **engagements**, occupations that engaged his time and attention.

P. 16, l. 1. **the Allegro and Penseroso**, probably written at Horton in 1632. The title of the former, *L'Allegro*, means 'the cheerful one,' of the latter, *Il Penseroso* (Ital. *Penseroso*, *Penseroso*), 'the pensive one'; and each represents the ideal day of an educated youth. In the collection were also published *Arcades*, *Lycidas*, and *Comus*.

l. 3. **Barbican**, a street still existing in the city under the same name, and running at right angles with Aldersgate Street. The derivation of the word is uncertain, but the meaning is an outer fortification or defence to a city or castle, especially a double tower erected over a gate or bridge.

l. 12. **the young fry**, fry is properly the spawn of fishes: here, as always when used figuratively, in a contemptuous sense.

l. 16. **savoured of**, smacked of, had the taste of.

l. 17. **extenuate**, literally 'thin out'; generally, as here, palliate, excuse; Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, i. 2. 3, and *Letter of Advice to Essex*, uses it in the sense of *depreciate*, and in his *Colours of Good and Evil* in that of *weaken*.

l. 21. **found**, discovered. **shift and palliate**, have recourse to evasions and excuses; such as those mentioned in the two next sentences.

ll. 22, 3. **a chamber-milliner**, one who exercises the trade of milliner in a quasi-private way. We have already had the phrase "chamber practice," p. 2, l. 1, where see note; **milliner**, said to be a corruption of *Milaner*, a dealer in wares from Milan, celebrated for its small wares, haberdashery, the original sense in which the word **milliner** was used. **measured**, carrying on the figure employed in "chamber-milliner."

l. 27. **has a mind to**, desires, is inclined to.

l. 30. **adjutant-general**, an officer who assists the general of an army, more especially in matters of correspondence, the issuing of orders, etc. Sir William Waller, one of the three chief generals of the Parliamentarians, Essex and Manchester being the other two.

ll. 32-4. **An event**, **mistaken**, it would hardly be possible to give greater vagueness and uncertainty to an event than by

qualifying its statement as Phillips does; **set . . . distance**, the figure is that of removing an object to such a distance that the eye sees it only in a dim, misty light. "On the whole," says Masson (*Life*, ii. 482), "Phillips's recollection seems credible only to this extent, that some time or other in 1643 or 1644 there may have been a talk among some about the desirableness of bringing Milton into the army, and that Sir William Waller's branch of the army may have been named as the likeliest to suit him. Phillips puts his recollection rather positively; and, though he may have confused particulars, he is not likely to have been altogether wrong about such a fact in his uncle's life."

II. 34. 5. **Milton . . . longer**, here Johnson is stating the determination as it was in Phillips's mind.

P. 17. l. 2. **Holbourn**, now spelt *Holborn*, a street running east and west between Oxford Street and Newgate Street.

I. 3. **opened backward**, *i.e.* a house which looked out from behind towards and had an opening into.

II. 3. 4. **He is not known . . . death**, except a metrical translation of nine of the Psalms, and his Sonnet "To the Lord General Fairfax."

I. 6. **a treatise**, entitled *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, which though not published till the month following the King's execution, was probably begun, if not completed, while the King was still alive.

II. 8. 9. **Remarks . . . Rebels**, this pamphlet, the full title of which was *Observations on Ormond's Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels and on a Representation of the Scotch Presbytery of Belfast*, "was published by authority in May, 1649, when Charles II. had been proclaimed in Ireland, and the Marquis of Ormond was trying to unite in his cause the native Irish Roman Catholics, the English Settlers, and the Ulster Presbyterians" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 35).

II. 9. 10. **contented . . . write**, we should now say "contented himself with writing."

I. 13. **admitted**, *sc.* into his own mind.

II. 14. 5. **desire superinduced conviction**, the wish to believe led him to do so.

I. 18. **however it might**, in this sequence of tenses, we should now say 'may find' rather than 'might find,' though **might** here is perhaps intended to emphasize improbability.

I. 19. **interpolated**, we now more commonly speak of interpolating a passage *into* a book, etc. For this change, probably first made by the Royalists in 1650, there is no foundation whatever.

l. 19. **Icon Basilike**, *i.e.* Royal Image, or "Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," a work written by Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, but universally attributed to Charles himself.

l. 20. **Latin Secretary**, in March, 1649, immediately after the constitution of the first Council of State, with Bradshaw for its President, the Secretaryship for Foreign Tongues, or Latin Secretaryship, a special and independent office, instituted by the Council itself, chiefly in view of expected correspondence between the Commonwealth and Foreign Powers, was offered to and accepted by Milton.

l. 21. **to censure**, to criticize and expose.

l. 22. **Sidney's Arcadia**, a famous romance published by Sidney in 1590. The prayer is that made by the afflicted Pamela in the third book, near the beginning. "In explanation, however," says Masson (*Life*, iv. 138, 9), "it ought to be added that the Prayer in question is not one of those that occur in the *Eikon Basilike* proper, ... but is one of a few that were appended to some of the earlier and more expensive editions of the book"...

l. 23. **Iconoclastes**, *i.e.* Image Breaker, an answer to the *Eikon Basilike*, published in October 1649. "In one thing," says Milton in his Preface, "I much commend his openness who gave the title to his book, *Eikon Basilike*, that is to say *The King's Image*, and by the shrine he dresses out for him certainly would have the people come and worship him. For which reason this answer also is entitled *Eikonoklastes*, the famous surname of many Greek emperors who, in their zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of idolatry in the Church, took courage and broke all superstitious Images to pieces."

l. 24. **indecent**, *sc.* in its violence and harshness.

l. 28. **pop**, indicating haste and perhaps secrecy.

l. 29. **relique**, or 'relic,' a memorial, especially the memorial of a saint.

l. 30. **exercises**, prayers and meditations; the word in this sense of devotional occupation, performance of religious duties, was very common in Elizabethan English.

l. 32. **Dr. Juxon**, ex-bishop of London, who attended the King in his last days and at his execution.

ll. 33, 4. **were at least ... prayer**, if they really found this prayer among the king's papers, they at least are answerable for having made it known to the world.

l. 36. **The use ... innocent**, if the king was guilty of adapting this prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia*, there was nothing heinous in doing so.

P. 18, ll. 1-3. **with a little extension** . . . **accuse**, by carrying a little further the malice which they certainly showed in making the matter known, they were capable of fabricating that which they were so anxious to condemn.

l. 4. **being now sheltered**, having found shelter and protection from his enemies.

l. 5. **Salmasius**, Claude de Saumaise, a Frenchman, born in 1588, at this time residing at Leyden, in Holland, and reputed to be the most learned European scholar of his time. **Polite Learning**, classical literature and learning; what the French call *les belles lettres*.

l. 8. **Jacobuses**, a gold coin worth 25s. sterling coined in the reign of James the First, Jacobus being Latin for James; Milton in his Epigram *In Salmasii Hundredam* makes merry over this bribe.

ll. 9, 10. **sagacity** . . . **criticism**, skill and clear-sightedness in emending by conjecture passages in the classical writers which had been carelessly copied from the original mss.

l. 15. **expedition**, celerity.

l. 16. **Defensio Regis**, the exact title of this book was *Defensio Regis pro Carolo I.* It appeared in Holland in 1649, and contained a bitter attack on the English Commonwealth.

l. 17. **a sufficient answer**, Milton's answer, entitled *Defensio pro Populo Anglico contra Caroli Salmasii Defensionem Regiam*, was published in the end of 1650, or the beginning of 1651. "Soon all Europe rung from side to side with the rumour of this pamphlet; and the legend is that Salmasius, who had recently gone to reside at the Court of Sweden on the pressing invitation of the eccentric Queen Christina, was so chagrined at the applause with which the pamphlet was everywhere received, and especially by Christina's consequent coldness to himself, that he soon afterwards died. He did quit Sweden, and return to Holland, where he died Sept. 3, 1653, leaving an unfinished reply to Milton, and the task of continuing the controversy to other persons" (Misson, *P. W.* i. 333, 4).

ll. 18-20. **that Hobbes** . . . **worst**, Johnson, to whom of course Milton's reasoning was unpalatable, is glad to be able to cite the opinion of so great a philosopher as Hobbes. His words are, "They are very good Latin both and hardly to be judged which is better; and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is worse; like two declamations, *pro* and *con*, made for exercise only in a rhetoric school by one and the same man" (*Behemoth*, vol. vi. p. 368, Molesworth's edition).

l. 22. **teizing** has somewhat of a stronger sense than the modern word now spelt 'teazing.'

l. 25. **Salmacis**, a very clear fountain in Cælia, fabled to render soft and effeminate all who drank of it; see Ovid, *Met.* iv. 286.

ll. 27, 8. **Tu es ... gallinaceus**, the pun upon **Gallus**, which means both a Frenchman and a domestic cock, and **gallinaceus**, that which belongs to domestic poultry, can hardly be kept up in English; though the gist of the words may be in a measure represented by "You are a cock, and one, it is said, that is terribly hen-pecked."

l. 30. **vitious**, faulty, unscholarly.

l. 31. **Persona**, found, though rarely in classical Latin, for a person *as opposed to things and actions*, and occasionally in the post-Augustan writers simply as a person, as in the quotation made by Johnson from Juvenal, *Sat.* iv. 15, and in Suetonius, *Nero*, 1.

l. 33. **Nemesis**, a Greek goddess, originally a personification of the moral reverence for law, of the natural fear of committing a culpable action, and hence of conscience. Later on the conception of her was that of an avenging and punishing fate, who, like justice, and the Erinyes, sooner or later overtakes the sinner; and in such sense the word is used here, or as = retribution. In his posthumous reply Salmacius in return twits Milton with bad Latin as regards grammar, idiom, and prosody.

l. 35. **solecism**, impropriety in speaking or writing; from Gk. "adjective **σόλοικος**, speaking incorrectly, like an inhabitant of Soloi in Cilicia, a place colonized by Athenian emigrants who soon corrupted the Attic dialect which they at first spoke correctly" ... (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*).

P. 19, l. 1. **propino ... vapulandum**, I pass you on to be chastised by your own grammarians. Though Johnson's criticism of **vapulandus** is correct, it seems probable that Milton was only parodying a passage in Terence, *Eunuchus*, v. 8. 57, "*hunc comedendum et deridendum vobis propino*," and knowingly misused **vapulandum**.

l. 8. **forward**, active.

l. 11. **recommended ... elegance**, when it has the charm of being stated in spirited and elegant language.

ll. 14, 5. **was not dispersed ... rapidity**, had not so rapid a circulation, as modern phraseology would put it.

l. 18. **the tyrant of literature**, one whose decrees and decisions on points of learning were promulgated with such despotic authority.

l. 22. **must be**, must have been.

ll. 25, 6. **who was ... despotick**, this parenthesis, which is too long to come between **her** and **to favour**, is by Johnson placed, with telling emphasis at the end of the sentence. But though Johnson might use such a collocation, it is not for every one to conjure with his wand. According to the *Journal* of Whitlocke,

ambassador at the Spanish Court, Barcelona, when asked by his whether she "had seen a book lately written in Latin by our Milton, an Englishman, and how she liked its style, having commented the better part of it and the language" (*Masson, P. W. i. 254*).

1. 25. dismissed, too used to a bad snow, but simply - allowed to go away.

1. 26. Restoration, the earlier spelling of *Restoration*, from Latin *restituo*.

1. 28. in pain for his Latin, somewhat eager to justify himself against the charge of cowardly tam.

1. 29. 2. 4. 4. Just again - but! What art thou to do when the person himself is more trifling and more bad than any criticism can represent him? (*Forster*, *ibid.* p. 24. 2.) The word *trifling* is again not used.

1. 30. at the foot of St. as we should now say. 1. 300 is a place where there is a spring of mineral water. "The name was generally used, he says, from that of St. in Padua, S.W. of Lige, where there is a mineral spring, whence came the first supply" (*Shelton, Ep. Phil.*).

1. 34. 3. commenced research, began to describe the building of King's commenced a detailed one of the work at the Pitt building where in 1790-1800 M.D. 1800 seems to take the Pitt degree of Master of Laws in the particular Faculty of Theology. It is also used of Nicholas in the different Faculty, *ibid.* p. 25. 1. 25. we have "Nicholas Commenced Chancellor" where the word formed is a similar repetition.

1. 35. hunger and pillage, a life of constant poverty.

1. 36. 2. to the power, so far as was in his power.

1. 37. he would, as I have said.

1. 38. destined to discharge, we should now say released from discharge.

1. 39. diverted, or, from his purpose.

1. 40. 1. 1. English, now a colony of London, about three miles from Chertsey, now, to the extreme N. E.

1. 41. discharge, release.

1. 42. 2. point himself, the last he could do still. As to the person's - *Forster's* opinion is not conclusive.

1. 43. 3. ADDRESS. Popul. & Politics of the King with the English People to answer as the Instructions of the King and People by John Henry Smith, alias Wilson.

1. 44. 4. ANSWER, entitled *Answer to the Address of the House of Commons on the subject of the petition presented to the House by John Phillips, an Englishman, to the delivery of a certain money*.

mous skulker: *tenebrio* means one who shuns the light, a trickster, swindler, and the words 'John Phillips, an Englishman,' are in emphatic opposition to one who shrinks from giving his name or country. This *Responsio* was published in Dec. 1652, and while in progress of writing was read over to Milton, who made various suggestions for its improvement.

1. 13. **Bramhal**, ex-bishop of Derry and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh: the pamphlet was, however, by one Rowland, a refugee English preacher living at Rotterdam.

11. 15, 6. as if ... **suspected**, *i.e.* the real authorship of the *Apologia*.

1. 17. **Regii... Cœlum**, this pamphlet, of which the full title was *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*, *i.e.* 'Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides,' was published anonymously at the Hague in 1652, and was, says Masson, "so pungent, and contained such charges against Milton's personal character, that he could not let it pass; but the Answer was deferred" (*P. W.* i. 39).

1. 19. **prebendary**, a 'prebend,' from Lat. *prebenda*, a payment to a private person from a public source, is a portion received for maintenance by a member of a cathedral church, and a **prebendary** is one who holds office among the cathedral clergy.

1. 20. **having the care of its publication**, being entrusted with the business of bringing it out.

1. 21. **Defensio secunda**, published in 1654. "While defending his own character in this Reply, Milton made it also a new defence of the English Nation; and hence it is entitled '*Joannis Miltoni Angli pro populo Anglicano Defensio secunda*' ('*Second Defence of John Milton, Englishman, for the English People*'). Both historically and autobiographically, it is one of the most interesting of Milton's pamphlets. It contains his splendid and most memorable panegyric on Cromwell, with notices of Fairfax, Bradshaw, Fleetwood, Lambert, Whalley, Overton, and others. Milton assumes throughout that the author of the book to which he was replying was a certain Alexander More or Morus, a Frenchman of Scottish descent, then settled in Holland; and the license he gives himself in his personal abuse of this Morus is something frightful" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 43).

1. 23. **began to shrink ... tempest**, could no longer endure the tempest of invective poured upon him.

1. 25. **Milton's pride**, which made him ashamed to own that he had been wrong as to the authorship of the pamphlet. This is Du Moulin's statement made in his Πάρεργα, *Poematum Libelli Tres*, published in 1670; but Morus, though dreadfully alarmed

on hearing of Milton's forthcoming *Defensio Secunda*, went no farther than denying the authorship of the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*; and when Milton, in 1655, replied to Morus in his *Pro Se Defensio*, "though he had more correct ideas by that time as to the amount and nature of Morus's responsibility for the book, and was aware of some other author at the back of Morus, he had not yet ascertained who this author was" (Masson, *Life*, v. 222).

I. 31. *deserimur* . . . *salutaris*, see Johnson's translation on the next page.

Fontaine. It may be doubted . . . *gloriosus*, the word, though used in a good sense of things, actions, etc., is not, at all events in Latin of the Augustan age, applied in such a sense to men.

P. 22, l. 17. the perpetual dictatorship, after having been appointed dictator at various times and for various periods from one to ten years, he was, B.C. 45, invested with the title of imperator for life.

II. 17, 8. the coalition . . . society, that combination which makes up society; at present 'coalition' is chiefly used of the combination of two opposed political parties, with an implied compromise of their most distinctive principles. In the passage which Johnson is translating, the single word *societas* is the equivalent of the phrase coalition of human society.

II. 18, 9. agreeable to, in harmony, accordance with.

I. 21. *atchieved*, an older speaking of *achieved*, the *t* having no proper place in the word, which is from the O. F. *achever*, *achever*, to accomplish, formed from the phrase *venir a chef*, to come to the end, to attain one's object, Lat. *ad caput venire*.

I. 24. father of your country, the Latin title, *pater patriæ*, was conferred in the first instance upon Cæsar for having saved Rome from the conspiracy of Catiline, "*Roma patrem patriæ Cæsarem dicitur dicit*," Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 245. It was afterwards used of Marius, of Trajan, and other emperors.

I. 26. wanted defence, needed defending.

I. 27. found leisure himself, in a pamphlet entitled *Joannis Miltoni Angli pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum, i.e. Defence of John Milton, Englishman, for himself, against Alexander More*, being an answer to More's Tract called *Fides Publica*, followed by a *Supplementum*, to which latter Milton replied in his *Authoris ad Alexandrum Morei Supplementum, i.e. the Author's reply to Alexander More's Supplement*, annexed to the *Defensio*.

I. 29. justly . . . Clamor, sc. in having had the care of its publication.

II. 31, 2. *Morus est?* are you rightly called Morus or Momus,

or are the two identical? **Morus** means not only a mulberry tree, but a fool, and Momus is the god of mockery.

P. 23, ll. 1, 2. **the known transformation**, referred to by Pliny.

ll. 3, 4. **Poma ... Morus**, the mulberry tree which once bore white fruit, afterwards produced black fruit, *i.e.* with the suggestion that Morus though he might once have been a reputable person had now ceased to be so—in allusion to a low intrigue of which he had been accused.

l. 8. **As secretary**, in his capacity as secretary.

l. 11. **artfully**, with the object of obtaining further advantages.

l. 12. **indisposition**, ill health.

ll. 12, 3. **the Swedish agent**, the plenipotentiary entrusted by the Swedish Court with the arrangement of the treaty. **provoked**, *i.e.* by the delay.

l. 17. **external interruptions**, *sc.* of controversial writing.

l. 20. **an epick poem**, the actual composition of *Paradise Lost* is believed to have been begun during the last year of Cromwell's Protectorate: **the history of his country**, this was a compilation from Caesar, Tacitus, Bede, the Saxon Annals, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Holinshed, Camden, etc., etc.

l. 21. **a dictionary**, he was getting together material for a *Thesaurus Lingua Latina*, collecting idioms, references, etc., and Johnson, himself a Dictionary maker, was well capable of estimating the minute and wearisome work such a project entailed.

l. 26. **always before him**, *sc.* as a design he was anxious to carry out.

ll. 27, 8. **discomposed**, wanting in all arrangement.

ll. 33, 4. **but with more skilful**, except with, etc.

P. 24, ll. 6, 7. **as he hints ... Mansus**, ll. 80-4. "If I should ever recall into song the kings of my country, Arthur still from his under-ground stirring the warlike commotion, Or should tell of those leagued as Knights of his Table, Great-souled heroes unmatched, and (O might the spirit but aid me!) Shiver the Saxon phalanxes under the shock of the Britons!" (Masson's Translation). For **Mansus** (Latin of *Manso*), see note, p. 7, l. 26.

l. 7, 8. **Arthur was reserved ... destiny**, "Fenton here refers to Blackmore's heroic poem of *Prince Arthur*, published in 1695; a poem once famous, but now forgotten" (*M. A.*).

l. 10. **in a library at Cambridge**, that of Trinity College.

ll. 11, 2. **had digested ... Mysteries**, had so far arranged his design as to have sketched out a play after the pattern of the old Mysteries. These 'Mysteries,' or as they were oftener called in England, 'Miracles' or 'Miracle Plays' were representations on the stage of religious events; though properly speaking the

Mysteries dealt with Gospel events only, the Miracle Plays with incidents derived from the legends of the Saints of the Church.

ll. 14, 5. **beginning** ... **Sun.** ll. 32-41 of *P. L.*, bk. iv.

P. 25, l. 3. **προλογίζεα**, speaks a prologue or introduction; the verb 'prologize' is used by Ben Jonson, and 'epilogize' by Milton.

l. 4. **corrupts not**, is not liable to corruption, decay.

l. 5. **Enoch and Elijah**, who were carried up to heaven without experiencing death.

l. 7, 8. **exhorts** ... **God**, urges mankind to raise their eyes, by purifying their hearts, to the contemplation of God.

l. 19. **Lucifer**, literally 'the light-bringer,' the title borne by Satan before his fall; in classical writings, the morning star, Venus.

l. 30. **Mutes**, dumb personages on the stage.

P. 26, l. 4. **unparadised**, driven out of Paradise, the Garden of Eden; literally a park, pleasure-ground.

l. 5. **Gabriel**, one of the three Archangels; called in *P. L.* iv. 550, "Chief of the angelic guards."

l. 6. **frequency**, constant visits.

ll. 12, 3. **tracing** ... **office**, roaming more at large in his capacity as one of the angelic guards.

ll. 14, 5. **as the creation**, as for instance the, etc.

l. 18. **discourse** ... **side**, angry contention in words.

l. 22. **relating** ... **what**, boastfully relating what.

l. 23. **to the destruction**, towards bringing about the destruction, *sc.* by having successfully tempted Eve.

l. 24. **confusedly**, with shame; see *Genesis*, iii. 7, "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons."

l. 25. **in a shape**, presented in visible form.

l. 27. **entertains the stage**, occupies the stage and sings choral odes.

l. 31. **is stubborn** ... **offence**, justifies his action in eating of the forbidden fruit.

l. 36. **a mask**, see note p. 5, l. 14.

P. 27, l. 2. **the Messiah**, literally 'the Anointed One': Hebrew.

l. 4. **the glory**, *sc.* which is due to Him.

l. 6. **draught**, we now write the word in this sense 'draft.'

l. 8. **in their seminal state**, in their first seeds or beginnings, **pregnant**, carrying on the metaphor in seminal.

ll. 14, 5. **Invention** ... obstruct, in his Essay on Dryden, *Ed. Rec.*, Jan. 1828, Macaulay speaks of Milton's blindness as probably having stimulated and heightened his imaginative powers.

ll. 16, 7. **his numbers**, his poetry.

l. 19. **seemly arts and affairs**, see note on p. 4, l. 11.

l. 23. **wanted**, needed.

ll. 28, 9. **a manuscript** ... **Council**, a manuscript given to Milton "for a true copy by a learned man at his death" and which he "thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer from the public."

l. 30. **a Treatise** ... **Cases**, this treatise, of which the full title is *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of Religion*, was addressed to Richard Cromwell's Parliament "in the hope that the adoption of its ideas, and consequently of a policy less favourable to Church-establishments than that of Oliver, might tend to the popularity of the New Protectorate and to the preservation of the Cromwell Dynasty" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 44). "This was followed in August 1659 by 'Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church,' etc. ... Johnson seems to confuse these two pamphlets and make them into one. Probably, however, he originally wrote 'gratified his malevolence to the clergy by a treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes' and 'The means of removing Hirelings out of the Church'" (Firth).

ll. 30, 1. **the Means** ... **Church**, see note, p. 4, l. 11.

l. 33. **extemporary government**, system of government devised to meet the exigencies of the time.

P. 28, l. 2. **Toland**, John (1670-1722), a chief leader of the English Deists, who published a life of Milton in 1698.

ll. 4, 5. **bated** ... **hope**, lost nothing of courage or hope; from Sonnet xxii. 6-9, "Yet I argue not Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot Of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer Right onward." **fantastical**, fanciful.

ll. 7, 8. **A Ready** ... **Commonwealth**, the full title is *The Ready and Easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof compared with the inconveniences and dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation*. "Full," says Masson, "of the undying Republican fervour, and of the unmitigated hatred and contempt of the Stuart Dynasty in particular, that had characterized all his intermediate pamphlets, in English or in Latin, it is peculiar from the wailing and mournful earnestness, the desperate secret sense of a lost cause, that runs through its assumed hopefulness and its dauntless personal courage" (*P. W.* i. 46, 7). **enough considered**, thought of sufficient importance.

l. 12. **Harrington**, "James Harrington (1611-1677), a writer on government and author of *Oceana*, was for a time groom of the bed chamber to Charles I., and attended him on the scaffold" (Matthew Arnold). On March 30, 1660, there was published a pamphlet entitled *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's book*, etc., which though really a witty burlesque of some Royalist making fun of Milton and the Rota-men, was by many taken for a serious production of Harrington's.

l. 14. **by rotation**, each of the members being given supreme power in his turn. The *Rota* was the name of Harrington's political club here referred to.

ll. 14. 5. **kicking strike**, *i.e.* using such means of annoyance as still remained in his power.

l. 17. **Griffiths**, or Griffith, as his name really was, was a clergyman who had taken refuge with the King through the Civil Wars. On Sunday, the 25th of March 1660, he preached a strong Royalist sermon in the Mercers' Chapel, and afterwards published it.

l. 18. **L'Estrange**, Sir Roger L'Estrange, afterwards Censor of the Press and Licensor of Plays. This answer was published April 20, 1660, with the motto "If the Blinde lead the Blinde, both shall fall into the ditch." Johnson calls it petulant on account of the pun on the word *blind*.

l. 24. **by his office**, in virtue of his being Secretary.

ll. 24-6. **proportioning writings**, attaching to his writings an importance in the eyes of the world which they no longer possessed, and so exaggerating the danger to which they exposed him.

l. 27. **West Smithfield**, formerly the great cattle market of London, which in 1852 was transferred to Copenhagen Fields, the new Meat Market being built on its site some ten years later. Here Milton lay concealed from May to August 1660, a period during which the two Houses of the Convention Parliament were discussing the question of the vengeance to be inflicted on the Regicides and on other conspicuous Anti Royalists. In earlier days it was called *Ruffians' Hall* from being the constant scene of frays among the sword and buckler men.

l. 36. **Act of Oblivion**, the Bill of General Indemnity and Oblivion was brought into the Commons on the 9th of May 1660, and passed on the 29th of August. **should except**, should mention by name as excepted from the pardon conferred by the Bill. Johnson in this phrase **except** . **except** seems to be translating the legal term *exceptis exceptandis*.

P. 29. l. 4. **he had only done**, Johnson apparently means this as a sneer.

l. 6. **Milton's Defence**, his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*. His *Ready and Easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth* and his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, publications at least equally offensive, for some reason or other escaped notice.

l. 7. **Goodwin's Obstructors of Justice**, see note on l. 14.

l. 8. **burn ... hangman**, a mark of disgrace commonly set upon obnoxious or obscene writings to a much later date. In this burning was included also Milton's *Eikonoklastes*.

l. 9. **attorney-general**, the highest Crown law-officer. An *attorney* is one who acts in the 'turn' of another, and an *attorney-general*, when acting for a private person, is an agent appointed to represent him in all his affairs and suits as contrasted with those appointed for a special purpose only; as an officer of the Crown he has the same general authority.

l. 11. **flutter**, *sc.* of terror and anxiety.

l. 13. **want ... elegance**, might wear the most gracious appearance in terms as well as in effect.

l. 14. **an act ... grace**, an act by which all offences were to be treated as things buried in oblivion rather than as acts to be pardoned. In reference to the title **act of oblivion** Johnson seems to be paying the king a compliment to which he had no just claim, the Bill having been introduced into the Commons before his return, though in conformity with a Declaration which he sent over from Holland. **Goodwin**, "Thomas Goodwin (1600-1679), a leading Independent minister and theologian, was made President of Magdalen College, Oxford, by Cromwell, and attended him on his death-bed" (Matthew Arnold).

ll. 15, 6. **of Milton ... exception**, no mention was made of Milton as being excepted from those to whom mercy was to be shown or from those capable of being employed in affairs of public trust.

ll. 17, 8. **Of this tenderness ... reason**, Milton's escape, after the Parliamentary order for his special prosecution and punishment, is certainly marvellous; but it is probably to be attributed rather to the influence of his friends in the House of Commons than to any tenderness on the part of the King. For a full account of the means by which it is probable that Milton was saved, see Masson, *Life*, vi. 185-192.

l. 25. **Marvel**, or Marvell, Andrew, the poet, was a friend of Milton's, but not an important Member of the House. **Morrice**, Sir William, the new Secretary of State, who, with **Sir Thomas Clarges**, Monk's brother-in-law, was very active in the conduct of the Bill of Indemnity through the Commons.

l. 27. **Richardson**, Jonathan, a painter, in whose Notes on

Paradise Lost, published in 1734, are various recollections of Milton's life.

l. 29. **Betterton**, a well-known actor brought upon the stage by Sir W. Davenant, Poet Laureate in succession to Ben Jonson. Whatever efforts Davenant may have made in Milton's behalf, he was not in Parliament, and it was on the Parliament that Milton's fate depended.

l. 35, 6 **makes ... credit**, naturally leads us to believe it.

l. 36. **But if help were wanted**, Johnson seems to imply that the matter is not worth attempting to investigate further.

P. 39, l. 3. **no higher**, to no authority more nearly contemporary with the events themselves and therefore more trustworthy. There seems no reason to doubt Betterton's word, though Davenant may have exaggerated the share he had in helping towards Milton's escape.

l. 10. **interest**, influence.

l. 14. **for his learning**, on account of his learning.

ll. 15, 6. **who would pursue** . Nature? A question of appeal equivalent to 'no one of any right feeling would pursue,' etc.

l. 19. **the serjeant**. "Emerging from his concealment in Bartholomew Close," says Masson, "he was beginning to be led about in the streets again, when, by some mistake, or by malice on the part of some one, he was arrested and taken into custody."

It is probable that the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons, who had fees to expect from his prisoners, thought himself still entitled to act on the order of the Commons of the preceding 16th of June for the arrest of Milton, notwithstanding the intervening Bill of Indemnity. At all events, the Journals of the House of Commons record that, on Saturday the 15th of December, 1660, the Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to release Mr. Milton forthwith on payment of his fees, and that, on the following Monday, December 17th, on a complaint from Mr. Milton that the fees demanded by the Sergeant-at-Arms were exorbitant, the matter was referred to the Committee of Privileges, with powers to call Mr. Milton and the Sergeant-at-Arms before them and settle the dispute. From another authority we learn that the fees demanded were £150, worth about £500 now, and that the member who brought Milton's complaint before the House was Mr. Andrew Marvell" (*P. W.*, i. 51, 2).

l. 23. **gripping**, extortionate.

l. 27. **Jewin Street**, formerly the Jews' Garden, and the only place where Jews had a right to bury before the reign of Henry the Second.

l. 28. **wanted**, stood in need of.

l. 30. **married**, February 24, 1662-3; his bride was a relation of Dr. Paget's, and only twenty-four years of age. She made Milton an excellent wife, and survived him many years.

l. 32. **of his happiness**, of such happiness as fell to his lot.

ll. 35, 6. **oppressed** . **death**, Phillips's statement does not amount to this, though no doubt Mrs. Milton exercised over them a control of which they were much in need; the second assertion is entirely false. Though it was clearly Milton's intention that his widow should have all the personal property left by him, the daughters inheriting only the portion due to Milton from the estate of Mr. Powell, his first wife's father, yet, they having disputed their father's intentions, it was decided, on technical grounds, that the widow should have two-thirds of the property left by Milton and the daughters one-third among them. This amount was accordingly paid to them.

P. 31, l. 2. **his employment**, *sc.* as Latin Secretary. The story comes to us through Richardson, who had heard it on what he thought to be good authority, but it is incredible that Charles could have made the offer of such a post to the author of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and of *Eikonoklastes*.

l. 9. **purely ministerial**, the service of a mere subordinate clerk.

ll. 11, 2. **are among**... **falsehood**, are tales such as are commonly circulated without their having any foundation in fact.

l. 15. **the new settlement**, government as established by the restoration of the king.

l. 19. **Accidence** . **Grammar**. *Accidence* developed into Grammar; *accidence* properly deals only with the accidents or inflections of words, and is therefore nothing more than the rudiments of grammar; for **Commenced**, see note, p. 20, l. 14. Milton's title was "*Accidence Commenc't Grammar*," and the volume, the substance of which, as Masson thinks, had probably "been lying among Milton's manuscripts since the days of his pedagogy in Aldersgate Street and Barbican," was published in 1669.

ll. 26, 7. **for the advantage of his conversation**, in order that he (Elwood) might profit from intercourse with him (Milton). **Elwood**, the son of a small squire at Crowell in Oxfordshire. Much to his father's disgust through acquaintance with one Pennington, a neighbour, he had turned Quaker, and coming up to London was by Dr. Paget, a friend of Pennington's, introduced to Milton.

l. 28. **Hartlib**, see note, p. 4, l. 7.

l. 29. **with an English mouth**, as pronounced by Englishmen. **is as ill ahearing**, is as unpleasant to listen to.

l. 30. **Law French**, the jargon of Norman-French terms still to be found in law books.

l. 33. **use, advantage**.

P. 32. l. 5. **There is little . . . countries**, a piece of Johnson's conservatism against which arguments of a weightier character have at length to some extent at all events prevailed.

l. 6. **by his attendance**, by attending to Milton's directions as to pronunciation.

l. 7. **curious, nice, accurate**.

l. 9. **open, explain**; a translation of the Latin *aperire*.

l. 11. **Bunhill Fields**, in Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields, opposite to the wall of the Artillery ground, or exercising-place of the old London Trained Bands, and near to the present Bunhill Row.

l. 14. **He was now Lost**. Milton had resumed the idea of *Paradise Lost* before the close of the Second Protectorate. He began the poem seriously in 1658, probably concluded the two first books before the Restoration, went on with it in Jewin Street and Bunhill, and had finished it by the middle of 1665.

l. 18. **a farce**, the reference is to a Scriptural drama entitled *Adamo* by a certain Giovanni Battista Andreini. On this subject generally, see Introduction.

l. 29. **survey of his attainments**, mental reckoning up of the stores of learning and observation which he had accumulated.

ll. 31. 2. **long chusing, . . . late**, "Since first this subject for heroic song Pleas'd me, long choosing and beginning late," *P. L.* ix. 25, 6. In *The Reason of Church Government*, Book II. Introduction, Milton gives a long account of the various projects which his mind "in the spacious circuits of her musing" had proposed to herself, and among the Milton papers in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a list, in his own hand, of about one hundred subjects which he had jotted down as suitable for dramatic treatment, such treatment being that which had suggested itself to him when first meditating a work which he trusted his country would not willingly let die.

P. 33. l. 1. **episodes**, stories introduced into the main story; Grk. *ἐπίστροφος*, a coming in besides, something inserted into the main action of a drama. **accumulate**, store up in his mind.

l. 7. **stations, offices**.

ll. 7. 8. **he is yet retirement**, he is still a man occupying so large a space in the public eye that records of his private life at the time have been discovered by the minute search of his admirers.

l. 13. **parts, mental endowments, quality, rank**.

l. 16. **Wood**, author of *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

l. 19. **cloaths**, cloth, as we should now say.

ll. 20, 1. **chalkstones**, "a concretion chiefly of sodium urate, resembling chalk, occurring in the tissues and joints, *esp.* of the feet and hands, in severe gout" (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*).

ll. 23, 4. **the common exercises**, *sc.* of walking and riding.

ll. 31, 2. **This gave ... reports**, as to his being engaged on this poem.

l. 34. **composure**, composition; the word in this sense, never very common, has not been in use for the last hundred years. Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, i. 1, writes, "It is the same that Demosthenes usually drunk in the *composure* of all his exquisite and mellifluous orations," though in the next speech he uses "compositions" in the same sense.

P. 34, l. 1. **parcels**, small portions; Lat. *particula*, diminutive of *pars*, a part.

ll. 3, 4. **by whatever ... next**, by any one who chanced to be at hand.

l. 6. **his vein**. his poetical fancy; a figure taken from mines.

ll. 9, 10. **though he courted ... much**, however much he might 'woo the Muse, try to stimulate his poetic powers; **never so much**, this use of *neer* where we should now use *ever* was common in Elizabethan English, and was often due to a confusion of constructions.

l. 14. **his Elegies**, the term is used by Milton for all his Latin poems written in elegiac metre, *i.e.* alternate hexameters and pentameters, whether the subjects were properly elegiac, *i.e.* pensive, mournful, or not.

ll. 15, 6. **redeunt ... vires**, *Elegia Quinta*, l. 5, *Fallor? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires?* Am I mistaken, or do my powers of composing return to me also? *i.e.* in the same way as he had just spoken of the powers of the earth being repaired by the advent of spring.

ll. 16, 7. **To this ... marked**, to this may be added that "the same fact is stated by Aubrey; to whom Phillips had mentioned it verbally (1680) many years before printing it himself" (Mason, *P. W.* ii. 73).

l. 26. **the fumes of vain imagination**, vapours born of morbid fancy.

l. 27. **Sapiens .. astris**, the wise man will be master of the constellations; a saying ascribed to one of the Ptolemies; an allusion to the astrological belief in the influence of the planets upon a man's life and actions.

l. 28. **weather-bound**, literally, prevented by adverse winds from putting to sea; figuratively restrained from writing freely. **hellibore**, which by the ancients was supposed to cure mental delusion. Cp. Bacon, *Essay of Friendship*, "A principall Fruit of Friendship ... Confession."

l. 32. **possunt ... videntur**, things are possible to us because they seem possible, Virgil, *Aeneid*, v. 231.

l. 33. **enforced**, stimulated, urged forward.

l. 34. **cross**, adverse, thwarting.

l. 35. **given up**, abandoned to idleness.

P. 35. l. 4. **decrepitude**, *decrepat* is from the Lat. *decrepitus*, that makes no noise; hence creeping about noiselessly like an old man, aged, broken down. "This opinion is said to have been first promulgated by Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in a work entitled 'The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by Natural Reason,' 1616" (Firth).

l. 10. **an age ... poesy**, "the reference is to what Milton says in his Tract, *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*" (Matthew Arnold). "Milton, it is said, inherited what his predecessors created; he lived in an enlightened age; he received a finished education, and we must therefore, if we would form a just estimate of his powers, make large deductions in consideration of these advantages. We venture to say, on the contrary, paradoxical as the remark may appear, that no poet has ever had to struggle with more unfavourable circumstances than Milton. He doubted, as he has himself owned, whether he had not been born 'an age too late.' For this notion Johnson has thought fit to make him the butt of much clumsy ridicule. The poet, we believe, understood the nature of his art better than the critic. He knew that his poetical genius derived no advantage from the civilization which surrounded him, or from the learning he had acquired; and he looked back with something like regret to the ruder age of simple words and vivid impressions" (Macaulay, *Essay on Milton*, pp. 2, 3). See also Macaulay's further remarks, pp. 3-5.

l. 11. **wanders ... world**, is current among mankind in a vague shape.

ll. 12, 3. **restrains regions**, declares that such and such exertions of the intellect are possible in such and such regions only.

ll. 16-8. **when he feared ... imagination**. The allusion is to *P. L.*, ix. 44-6, "unless an age too late, or cold Climate, or years, damp my intended wing Depressed." See also *The Reason of Church Government*, "If to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there

be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age," etc. (Book ii. Introduction.)

ll. 26-8. **for general causes . . . power**, the general causes which should affect him so powerfully as to render him incapable of producing anything great, would affect also the powers of those who had to estimate his productions.

l. 30. **frosty grovellers**, degenerate race whose minds, chilled into numbness, would grovel in obscurity.

ll. 31, 2. **which they . . . die**, which they would so cherish as to preserve it from oblivion; again from the Introduction to Book ii. of *The Reason*, etc. Milton's words are, "I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die."

ll. 34, 5. **in the dwindle of posterity**, as future ages became more and more mentally dwarfed in comparison with his own. The substantive **dwindle** is almost obsolete now.

l. 36. **pygmies**, fabulous dwarfs on the upper Nile of the height of a *πυγμή*, i.e. the distance from the elbows to the knuckles, about 13 inches. Cp. Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 2-7, "like unto birds, even as when there goeth up before heaven a clamour of cranes which flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain, and fly with clamour towards the streams of Ocean, bearing slaughter and fate to the Pigmy men, and in the early morn offer cruel battle" (translation by Lang, Leaf and Myers); and Milton, *P. L.* i. 575, 6, "that small infantry Warred on by cranes." The word is now more commonly but less accurately spelt 'pigmy': **the one-eyed . . . blind**, an allusion to the proverb "Among the blind, the one-eyed man is King."

P. 36, l. 1. **artifices of study**, here **artifices** is little more than 'methods,' and has nothing of the commoner modern sense of 'stratagem,' 'cunning device.'

l. 4. **discovers**, shows, manifests.

l. 8. **æstrum**, the Lat. *æstrus*, Gk. *αἰστρος*, was literally the gad-fly, horse-fly, and figuratively wild desire, especially the frenzy of a prophet or poet.

l. 9. **to secure what came**, to preserve, by writing them down, the thoughts which thus impetuously inspired him. The question how far his daughters acted as his amanuenses is one which has not been fully cleared up, but that they were not his only or even his chief helps in this matter is certain.

l. 12. **involutions of darkness**, periods when his inventive faculty shrunk back into itself, collapsed.

l. 15. **train**, usual order.

l. 20. **his hand is out**, his hand forgets its cunning, is not in unison with his brain and eye.

l. 21. **relation**, narrative: **casually conveyed**, given in an off-hand, casual, manner, not stated with emphatic purpose. **regard**, attention, belief.

ll. 24, 5. **were never** . **write**, this is not accurate; the eldest could not write, the second could write tolerably well, and the youngest still better.

l. 29. **reducing his exuberance**, pruning and cutting down his verses so as to strengthen them. Similar stories are told of Virgil, among other poets.

l. 31. **gratuitously**, without authority for the statement.

l. 35. **disturbed**, *etc.* in the busier hours of the daytime.

l. 36. **his unpremeditated verse**, *P. L.* ix. 24.

P. 37, ll. 1, 2. **the distresses of rhyme**, the inconveniences and limitations which rhyme involves.

l. 3. **adjusted**, attuned to the subject.

l. 6. **cannot** . **known**, cannot be known except in certain particular cases; such as Johnson goes on to state.

ll. 8, 9. **had clouded** . **discountenance**, had cast a heavy shadow over him by the ill-favour in which he was held by the king; the reference here and in the next line is to the words "though fallen on evil days, On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues, In darkness, and with dangers compassed round, And solitude" (*P. L.* vii. 25-8). **offended**, grieved and shocked. "Round a Court which set an example of shamelessness, London and the general English world were whirled, by a rebound from the extreme Puritan strictness that had been in fashion, into an ostentatious jewelry in Anti-Puritanism. Swearing, swaggering, and an affectation of profligacy, were the proofs of a proper abhorrence of the cant of the lately ruling 'saints,' and a proper loyalty to the existing powers" (Masson, *P. H.* i. 53).

l. 11. **notes of time**, marks by which we can ascertain at what particular times particular parts of the poem were composed.

l. 12. **effects**, results, consequences.

l. 15. **sculked**, hid himself away; now more usually spelt *skulked*. The word is here used in an unnecessarily contemptuous manner; Milton had only too sufficient reason to dread the king's return, only too little reason to hope for mercy at the hands of a party so mortally offended and so thirsting for vengeance.

ll. 16, 7. **for no sooner** . **danger**, Johnson is here apparently quoting from memory; see the lines quoted in note on ll. 8, 9, above. There is nothing to show that when they were written Milton could feel himself free from danger, in fact, according to Richardson, Milton "was in perpetual terror of being assassin-

ated, though he had escaped the talons of the law," and even if danger were past it was not likely that calumny would cease.

ll. 19, 20. **had his eyes ... employed.** if he had not, while he retained his sight, been employed in defending the commonwealth and attacking the monarchy.

l. 22. **regicides**, murderers of the king; the word, like *parricide*, etc., is used both of the concrete actor and the abstract act.

l. 24. **impudence**, effrontery, shameless disregard of truth.

l. 26. **spared**, failed to employ.

l. 29. **ludicrous**, involving ridicule.

l. 34. **the wit**, the man of intellect.

P. 38, l. 1. **Chalfont in Bucks**, a village in Buckinghamshire, about three and twenty miles from London.

l. 3. **Thou**, the phraseology of the Quakers.

l. 7. **design**, made arrangements for.

l. 9. **a chaplain ... Canterbury**, who was the official licenser, and was not likely to be well disposed towards one who had written with such bitterness against prelacy. By the Press Act of May 1662 the duty of licensing books of general literature had been assigned to the Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, but it was chiefly performed for them by a staff of under-licensers, paid by fees. In the present case the licenser was the Rev. Thomas Tomkyns, then domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

ll. 12, 3. **the simile ... book**, *P. L.* i. 594-9. These lines seem very little open to the charge of "treason" objected against them, and, as Masson says, "One would think that Tomkyns might have found passages more dangerous to Church and State."

l. 13. **copy**, copyright.

l. 14. **Samuel Simmons**, a small bookseller in Aldersgate Street.

l. 15. **to receive**, we should now say, 'that he should receive.'

l. 21. **was ten books**, consisted of ten books.

l. 23. **arguments**, synopses of the contents.

l. 29. **by a division ... twelfth**, what Johnson really means is that bks. vii. and x. were divided so that the second half of the former formed (with three additional prefatory lines) the eighth book, and the second half of the latter (with five additional prefatory lines) formed the twelfth book.

l. 32. **to devolve**, *i.e.* to revert to her, as her husband's heir,

from Simmons. From the deed, however, it does not appear that any such reversion was contemplated.

l. 35. **Brabazon Aylmer**, a bookseller in Cornhill who later on published Milton's *Familiar Letters*.

P. 30, l. 2. a **deduction**, a tracing of the progress made by the book.

l. 8. **late reception**, the length of time that elapsed before it was cordially received.

l. 12. **no publick acclamations**, no loud welcome from the public in general.

l. 12, 3. **Wit — Court**, all the men of the time who were famous for intellect and learning belonged to the king's party.

l. 14. **solicited . . . fashion**, hoped to win the king's favour or the reputation of being men of fashion.

l. 16. **reverential silence**, abstention from carping criticism which was due to the reverence felt for a man of such genius.

l. 20. **will justify the publick**, will show that the public were not stupidly insensible to the great merits of the poem.

l. 22. **call**, demand.

l. 24. **often**, in many cases.

ll. 25, 6. **The women**, womankind.

l. 27. **a closet of knowledge**, a library.

l. 28. **professed learning**, followed learning as a profession.

ll. 34, 5. **two editions — Shakespeare**, the first folio was published in 1623, the second in 1632, and the third in 1664.

P. 40, l. 2. a **style of versification**, *sc.* blank verse. Even Dryden thought that *Paradise Lost* would have been much finer if written in rhymed verse, and endeavoured to improve upon the poem in a drama called *The State of Innocence* written in such verse. The story is that he applied to Milton for permission to make this "improvement," and that Milton replied, "Ay, you may tag my verses if you will."

l. 3. **disgusting**, distasteful: a negative rather than a positive sense, such as the word now bears.

l. 4. **the prevalence of genius**, the powerful effect produced upon people by Milton's genius.

ll. 8, 9. **its admirers — opinion**, *sc.* and therefore the work could not make that way which it would have made had they spoken out. This, however, is not the fact. The fullest admiration was accorded to the poem from numerous quarters: and, among others, Dryden never lost an opportunity of publicly extolling its merits.

l. 10-3. **the means** .. ranks, *i.e.* books nowadays help to advertise other books.

l. 14. **But the reputation** .. advanced, in 1680 or 1681 the printer Simmons, who had then acquired the entire copyright of *Paradise Lost*, sold the future copyright to Brabazon Aylmer for £25, and in 1683 Aylmer in his turn sold half the copyright to Jacob Tonson at a higher rate than he had given to Simmons for the whole. In 1690 or 1691 Tonson acquired from Aylmer the other half of the copyright, again "at an advanced price," and he and his nephew having later on obtained possession by purchase of the copyright of Milton's entire works, had a monopoly of the sale till 1731. Copyright at the time of these purchases was considered perpetual, but in 1709 the first general Copyright Act annulled this perpetuity, and holders of existing copyrights in England and Scotland were secured undisturbed possession of them only for twenty-one years after the 10th of April, 1710.

l. 15. **put an end** .. love, made it unnecessary for readers to conceal the admiration they felt. This **secrecy**, as has been pointed out, was a piece of Johnson's imagination.

ll. 19-21. **marked silence**, saw his fame stealthily making its way in spite of the fear which kept men from openly avowing their admiration.

l. 31. **caught**, we now use the 'strong' preterite.

ll. 32, 3. **as well ... as**, not only ... but, both ... and.

l. 33. **oblige him**, do him a kindness.

l. 36. **her bodily infirmity**, she was both lame and deformed.

P. 41, ll. 5, 6. **the Hebrew ... the Syriac**, etc., *i.e.* in the Hebrew, Syriac, etc., languages.

l. 7. **confined**, obliged, tied down.

l. 14. **proper**, suitable. This seems to have been the judicious arrangement of their stepmother whereby they should learn an occupation likely to be of use to them in earning a livelihood.

l. 22. **wanted**, lacked, been without.

l. 26. **the whole fable**, *i.e.* fabulous account. **Geoffrey of Monmouth** (1110-1154), Bishop of St. Asaph's, author of the *Chronicon, sive Historia Britonum*. See note on p. 23, l. 20.

l. 30. **strike**, be impressive.

l. 32. **fixed his claws**, Johnson's comparison of the licenser to a ravenous bird of prey indicates his sympathy in this matter even with one most of whose opinions he so cordially detested.

l. 36. **Long Parliament**, which sat from 1640 to 1653. **Assembly of Divines**, see note on p. 14, l. 13.

P. 42, ll. 1, 2. **the earl of Anglesea**, "the same who, under his former name of Mr. Arthur Annesley, had been the chief manager

of the Restoration along with Monk, and who had since been a member of Charles's Privy Council and one of the most active politicians through Clarendon's Administration and that of the Cabal" (Masson, *Life*, vi. 637). He, Davenant, Aubrey, and many others, were among the visitors to Milton at this time.

ll. 4, 5 **Samson Agonistes** **Ancients**, as early as 1640-1, Milton, as Masson points out, had entered among his jottings (already referred to) of subjects for possible Scripture Tragedies *Samson Psephenus* (i.e., the *Freebread-bringer*), or *Hybristes* (i.e., *Violent*), or *Samson Marrying*, or *Ramoth Lechi*, and *Dagonothus*, in other words had contemplated two dramas, one on Samson's first marriage with a Philistian woman, and his feuds with the Philistines growing out of that incident; the other on the closing scene of Samson's life, when he took his final vengeance on the Philistines at their feast to Dagon. These subjects he has combined in his *Samson Agonistes*. In his preface to that drama he vindicates Tragedy from the small esteem "which in the account of many it undergoes at this day," points out the principles of construction he had followed, and defends its mechanism borrowed from the ancients. *Samson Agonistes*, therefore," says Masson, "was offered to the world as a tragedy avowedly of a different order from that which had been established in England. It was a tragedy of the severe classic order, according to the noble Greek model which had been kept up by none of the modern nations, unless it might be the Italians. In reading it, not Shakespeare, nor Ben Jonson, nor Massinger, must be thought of, but Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides" (*P. W.*, ii. 584).

l. 20. **Elwood**, not Elwood but Phillips. His statement, however, does not go the length of Johnson's, for all he tells us is that "though *Paradise Regained* was generally censured to be much inferior to the other, Milton himself 'could not bear with patience any such thing when related to him'" (Masson, *Life*, vi. 655).

l. 29. **had it to himself**, was alone in feeling it.

l. 32. **a kind dignity**, a kind of dignity which showed itself in his condescending to undertake work of so humble a nature.

l. 33. **controvertist**, now more usually "controversialist."

l. 34. **to accommodate**, to meet the wants of.

P. 43. l. 4. **Ramus**, Peter Ramus, a distinguished logician of the University of Paris, who in 1543 published his *Institutiones Dialecticæ* in opposition to Aristotle's logic. Masson supposes that the outline of this treatise was among the manuscripts that Milton had by him, and that while at Cambridge, taking the Ramist side, he had compiled the material afterwards worked up into this Latin digest of the Ramist Logic.

l. 6. **oppugners**, adversaries, attackers.

l. 8. **the schools**, the followers of the scholastic, or Aristotelian philosophy.

l. 9. **polemical**, controversial; literally 'warlike,' from Gk. **πόλεμος**, war. "This tract was called forth by the controversies excited by Charles the Second's Declaration of Indulgence (March 1672), and the passing of the 'Test Act,' 1673" (Firth).

ll. 15, 6. **agreement ... Scriptures**, agreement in believing that the Bible contains everything necessary to salvation, is able to meet all doubts and difficulties on points of religious belief.

ll. 21, 2. **to regard ... Scripture**, to acknowledge as a guiding principle any dictates of a conscience not based upon the doctrines laid down in the Bible.

l. 25. **one of the Pope's bulls**, the word *bulls* is here punned upon; as derived from the Lat. *bulle*, it meant a seal attached to an official document, especially the leaden seal attached to the Pope's edicts, and thence those edicts themselves; in its sense of a self-contradictory proposition, an expression containing a manifest contradiction in terms or involving a ludicrous inconsistency unperceived by the speaker (now often qualified by the epithet *Irish*) the origin of the word is unknown.

ll. 25, 6. **it is particular ... schismatick**, as **catholick** means 'universal,' to speak of anything as being **Roman Catholick** is a contradiction of terms as great as **particular universal** or **catholick schismatick**.

l. 31. **his juvenile poems**, see note, p. 16, l. 1.

l. 33. **Familiar Epistles**, so called after Cicero's *Epistolæ ad Familiares*, or letters to his intimate friends.

l. 35. **exercises**, see note, p. 3, l. 15.

P. 44, ll. 5, 6. **by a quiet ... expiration**, breathing his last calmly and peacefully.

l. 12. **Mr. Benson**, this monument by the sculptor Rysbrack was erected at the expense of Auditor Benson, whose egotism is satirized by Pope, *Dunciad*, iii. 325,—

"On poets' tombs see Benson's titles writ."

l. 16. **solī Miltono secundus**, inferior to Milton alone. John Phillips was the author of *The Splendid Shilling*, and of him Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, says, "whatever there is in Milton which the reader wishes away, all that is obsolete, peculiar, or licentious, is accumulated with great care by Phillips." The line crased was "Uni Miltono secundus, primoque pane par," i.e. second to Milton alone, and almost equal to him.

l. 17. **Sprat** (1636-1713), Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Rochester, one of the authors of the famous *Rehearsal*.

l. 20. **Atterbury**, Francis (1662-1732), appointed in 1715 Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester.

l. 24. **a statue**, a monumental bust.

l. 29. **at the foretop**, in the middle, as we now more commonly say.

ll. 29, 30. **according** . . . **Adam**, "hyacinthine locks Round from his parted forelock manly hung Clustering," *P. L.* iv. 301-3.

ll. 32, 3. **as having** . . . **thick**, *i.e.* his figure was such that with a little exaggeration he might have been described as, etc.

l. 36. **rapier**, a light, narrow sword, especially used in duelling; **backsword**, a sword with only one cutting edge; but also a stick with a basket-hilt used instead of a sword in fencing, a single-stick; in which latter sense the word is probably used in Milton's treatise on education.

P. 45, ll. 1, 2. **his book on Education**, see note on l. 6, p. 4.

l. 15. **to six**, till six o'clock in the evening.

l. 16. **visiters**, Johnson used both the earlier and the later spellings of the word; see l. 21, below.

l. 18. **even tenour**, regular manner of life.

l. 20. **the succession of his practice**, the uniformity of his mode of life.

l. 23. **of which** . . . **some**, which even the most retired must attend to at times.

l. 30. **Fortune** . . . **care**, he seems to have thought little of making money.

ll. 34, 5. **given up** . . . **indignation**, allowed to live in poverty without any heed being paid to the indignation he showed at the poor return made to his services.

P. 46, l. 3. **Namptwitch**, now spelt Nantwich.

l. 5. **scrivener**, see note, p. 1, l. 16.

ll. 5, 6. **the general** . . . **Church**, the general scramble for the revenues and estates of the Church when it was disestablished as a State institution.

l. 10. **placed in the Excise office**, the money had been invested at interest with the Commissioners of Excise and was lost to him after the Restoration.

l. 16. **His literature**, his knowledge of literature and learning.

l. 17. **polite**, polished, as so, fit for use by civilized nations.

l. 18. **its two dialects**, *sc.* pure Hebrew, and the Aramaic dialect found in portions of Daniel and Ezra.

l. 24. **Metamorphoses**, a poem in fifteen books consisting of legends or fables involving a transformation (*metamorphosis*).

l. 31. **skilful**, intelligent.

l. 36. **Calvinistical**, in accordance with the doctrines of John Calvin, the Protestant Reformer (1509-1564), the most important of which were those on predestination and grace.

P. 47, l. 2. **Arminianism**, the doctrines of James Arminius or Harmensen, a Dutch Protestant theologian, who put forth views opposed to those of Calvin, especially on predestination. Arminius died in 1609.

l. 5. **Baudius**, Dominic, a Belgian of the latter half of the sixteenth century, celebrated for his Latin poetry.

l. 6. **magis ... sequeretur**, translated by the next sentence.

l. 8. **denomination**, sect bearing some particular name, *e.g.* the Calvinists, Arminians, Arians, etc. Firth points out that Johnson's strictures are based on no better authority than an assertion of Toland's.

ll. 19. 20. **untainted ... opinion**, free from all heresy in regard to doctrines of vital importance.

ll. 21. 2. **the immediate ... Providence**, the interference by Providence in worldly affairs upon such occasions as seemed proper to it.

ll. 27. 8. **live ... approbation**, need no other approbation than their own judgment.

l. 30. **praying acceptably**, praying in such a way as was acceptable in the sight of God, though in a state of innocence, having committed no sin, they used no prayers of repentance such as those of which after their fall they had need in order to obtain pardon.

P. 48, l. 4. **the trappings**, the mere show and outward magnificence. **set up**, be sufficient for the maintenance of. The words quoted are from a conversation between the poet and Sir Robert Howard recorded in Toland's *Life of Milton*, p. 139 (Firth).

l. 11. **Milton's republicanism ... authority**, perhaps nowhere else in this *Life* does Johnson allow his political prejudices to bias him to such an extent in his estimate of Milton's character; but his injustice is not in these days likely to carry weight with persons of any intelligence.

l. 24. **a Turkish contempt**, the doctrines of Islam deny women all freedom in this world and all place in the next. "Milton's views may be gathered from *Paradise Lost*, iv. 295-311, 635-638; viii. 540-559; ix. 1182-1186; x. 145-156, 867-908; xi. 614-636; *Samson Agonistes*, 1010-1060. Some of these utterances are of course dramatic; others Milton's biographers have taken to represent the opinions and experiences of the author himself" (Firth).

l. 26. **break the ranks**, emancipate themselves from the subordinate position which he considered proper to them by any manifestation of independent thought.

P. 49, l. 11. **to make a stand**, *sc.* against the generally received belief.

l. 22. **un-ideal**, that conveyed no meaning to her mind.

l. 25 **some establishment**, some substantial support. **Queen Caroline**, wife of George the Second.

l. 29. **Fort St. George**, still the official name for the city and Presidency of Madras.

P. 50, l. 3. **for her benefit**, *i.e.* the proceeds of the performance being handed over to her: hence the stage term 'a benefit night,' or a 'benefit' alone.

l. 7. **Dr. Newton**, editor of *Paradise Lost*, in 1749.

l. 8. **Tonson**, "a celebrated publisher of the last century, whose great uncle and predecessor in business, Jacob Tonson, 'the prince of booksellers,' and the first of the great English publishers, is mentioned in the Life of Dryden. This Jacob died in 1736: his great-nephew in 1767" (Matthew Arnold).

l. 10. **the stocks**, the Funds: the idea in *stock* is that of anything fixed or stuck.

l. 22. **nothing satisfied**, not at all satisfied. The poem referred to is "The Passion," which grew out of his "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," and "was probably," says Masson, "written for Easter 1630." At the end of it Milton appends as a note, "This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished."

l. 23. **nice**, particular.

l. 28. **lusciously elegant**, elegant even to a sweetness that cloy.

l. 30. **the numbers**, the versification; Lat. *numeri*.

l. 32. **the elegiacs** = odes, the former, even in number, are all in the elegiac metre; the latter, which Milton calls "Sylvæ," are in various metres, hexameter, alexis, hendecasyllable, etc.

ll. 33, 4. **some spared**, Johnson is referring to the four short epigrams on the subject of the Gunpowder Plot, to be found among his Elegies. In the Odes there is a longer poem of some two hundred and twenty hexameters on the same subject, and this is one of the best of Milton's juvenile Latin poems.

l. 35. **make no promises of**, give us no reason to expect; we should now use *promise* in the singular.

P. 51, ll. 2, 3. **their peculiarity is not excellence**, if they are unlike the writings of others, this fact is not by itself sufficient to make them excellent.

l. 9. **happily**, fortunately: preserved at Cambridge, in the Library of Trinity College.

l. 12. **Shew how ... required**, show by what steps excellence has to be sought; **required**, sought and thus acquired.

ll. 12, 3. **what we hope ... ease**, that which we hope sooner or later to do without trouble.

l. 21. **he was a Lion .. Kid**, a figurative allusion to Milton's lines, *P. L.* iv. 343, 4, "Sporting the lion ramped, and in his paw Dandled the kid."

l. 27. **remote ... opinions**, the former refer especially to the allusions to classical poetry, the latter to the doctrinal points of the poem.

ll. 28-30. **Passion .. heel**, see ll. 1-3; 85, 6; 34.

l. 29. **Arethuse**, the name of a nymph and also of a famous fountain called after her in the island of Ortygia, near Syracuse: **Mincius**, Virgil's native river, falling into the Po, a little below Mantua. The invocation of these two streams indicates Milton's imitation of the pastoral poetry of Virgil and Theocritus, the latter a Syracusan by birth.

ll. 30, 1. **Where there is .. grief**, when a man's mind is so much at ease that it can have recourse to such fables as those in *Lycidas*, it cannot be occupied by any strong feeling of grief. See on this subject Introduction, pp. xi.-xix.

l. 33. **disgusting**, see note, p. 40, l. 3.

l. 35. **are long ago exhausted**, *sc.* in the pastoral poetry of former days, such as that of Theocritus, Virgil, etc.

P. 52, l. 1. **Where Cowley ... Hervey**, in his "poem on the death of Mr. William Hervey" (Firth).

l. 5. **We drove afield**, we drove our flocks to pasture in the fields.

l. 6. **grey fly**, by Warton supposed to be the trumpet-fly; by others, the cricket: **sultry horn**, "according to the classical usage by which an epithet is employed for an adverbial phrase denoting Time" (Jerram); who compares Collins, *Ode to Evening*, "where the beetle *winds* his small but sullen *horn*." In reality the sound is produced by the motion of the wings.

l. 7. **Battening**, "usually intransitive, 'to grow fat,' as in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, iii. 4. 67, 'batten on this moor' [and *Coriolanus*, iv. 5. 35]. It is used transitively in J. Philips' *Cider*, bk. i., 'the meadows here with battening ooze enriched,' and in Brown's *Brit. Pastorals*, bk. ii., 1st song, 'the bathing earth.' The original root is *bat-*, whence also *bat-ter* and O. E. *bit-an*" (Jerram).

l. 10. **the true meaning ... found**, a piece of illogical perversity; the meaning is perfectly plain and clear, being, as Masson remarks,

"the recollection, pastorally expressed, of their companionship at Cambridge, their walks and talks there, and their common exercises" (*P. W.* i. 194).

ll. 15, 6. **such as** . **supplies**, such as would readily occur to students familiar with classical poetry.

ll. 18, 9. **without** . **pipino**, with no companion in the pursuit to judge of the merit of his songs, which shepherds in pastoral poetry are represented as doing.

l. 28. **equivocations**, terms used in a double sense; the earlier and more literal sense of the word.

l. 33. **nice**, close, particular.

P. 53, l. 3. **Theobald**, one of the older commentators on Shakespeare.

ll. 4, 5. **derive their colours**, are made to look bright or gloomy.

l. 7. **differently disposed**, inclined to mirth or to melancholy.

l. 11. **chearful**, an older spelling of the word.

ll. 11, 2. **The cheerful evening**, see *L'Allegro*, ll. 41, 2, *Il Penseroso*, ll. 56-8, and for the rest of the allusions the two poems *passim*. They must, as Masson remarks, be read together, and the studied antithesis of mood and occupation be kept in mind in the reading.

l. 14. **not unseen**, openly, not trying like the melancholy man to escape notice; *L'Allegro*, l. 57.

l. 16. **plowman**, the older spelling of the word, used by Milton and re-introduced by Tennyson.

l. 21. **fanciful** . **ignorance**, the fairy tales and fabulous wonders which superstition and ignorance have invented. See *L'Allegro*, ll. 101-14.

l. 23. **curfew**, O. F. *cureu, feu*, a fire-cover, thence the time for covering or putting out fires, and the bell rung every night as a signal for doing so.

l. 25. **glowing embers**, *Il Penseroso*, l. 79.

l. 26. **to discover** . **souls**, "unphoer The spirit of Plato, to unfold What worlds or what vast regions hold The immortal mind that hath forsook Her mansion in this fleshly nook"; *Il Penseroso*, ll. 88-93.

ll. 26, 7. **varies** . **meditation**, gives new food to the meditative gloom that is upon him.

l. 32. **some dream of prognostication**, some dream which shall foreshow to him events of his life about to happen. "And let some strange mysterious dream Wave at his [sleep's] wings, in airy stream Of lively portraiture displayed, Softly on my eyelids laid," *Il Penseroso*, ll. 147-50.

ll. 34, 5. **Both Mirth . . . communication**, *i.e.* Mirth and Melancholy as depicted by Milton in these two poems.

l. 36. **philosophical friend**, in the case of the melancholy man.

P. 54, l. 1. **pleasant companion**, in that of the cheerful man.

l. 4. **The man of cheerfulness . . . theatre**, see *L'Allegro*, ll. 117, etc.

l. 8. **wild dramas**, fanciful plays, such as a *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

ll. 10, 1. **The pensive man . . . cathedral**, *Il Penseroso*, 155, etc.

l. 12. **forsaken the Church**, left the communion of the Church of England, for ordination in which he was still preparing himself, if, as is supposed, the poems were written while he was living at Horton immediately after leaving Cambridge.

l. 13. **Both . . . musick**, as Milton himself did, he being an accomplished musician and daily spending much of his time in playing on the organ, especially after he became blind.

l. 15. **dismission**, dismissal, permission to leave. Orpheus by his music obtained leave from Pluto to carry back to earth his dead wife, Eurydice, on condition that he should not look back to see whether she was following him till they reached the upper world. On its confines Orpheus in his anxiety turned round, when Eurydice immediately vanished from his view and returned to the infernal regions.

ll. 18, 9. **he conducts . . . life**, *Il Penseroso*, ll. 167 to end.

l. 22. **nicely**, accurately.

ll. 22, 3. **the colours . . . discriminated**, the language, as Johnson thinks, not being specially appropriate to the subjects.

ll. 25, 6. **I always . . . mirth**, cp. Shelley, *To a Skylark*, 88, 9, "Our sincerest laughter With some pain is fraught."

l. 28. **Masque**, see note, p. 5, l. 14.

l. 31. **system of diction**, peculiar phraseology. **mode of verse**, blank verse.

P. 55, l. 2. **period**, sentence: F. *periode*, perfect sentence, Lat. *periodus*, Gk. *περίοδος*, a going round, circuit, a well-rounded sentence.

ll. 8, 9. **given up to . . . imagination**, allowed to abandon itself to all manner of whimsical contrivance and license of action.

ll. 15, 6. **its convenience**, *sc.* as regards the working out of the plot.

ll. 19-21. **a mode . . . support it**, in the English drama the prologue whether spoken by an actor or somebody else, and by the actor whether in character or not, was always something distinct

from the play itself: in the Greek drama, especially the plays of Euripides, the opening speech was often as much a prologue as that of the Attendant Spirit in *Comus*.

ll. 24, 5 **a dialogue** **contention**, a dialogue in which each answers the other with sprightly rejoinder and repartee.

l. 29, **jollity**, easy mirth, joyous abandonment of spirit; the substantive is almost obsolete now, and the adjective survives only in schoolboy slang.

l. 30, **recommend**, give us a favourable idea of.

l. 35, **must owe** **voice** If this song is ever to delight an audience, it can only be by its being sung by one whose voice would charm, whatever the song might be, i.e. in itself it could give but little pleasure to an audience. Johnson, as is well known, was absolutely without ear for music, he "just knew the bell of St. Clement's Church from the organ," as Macaulay puts it, but his ear must also have been strangely deaf to the melody of verse if he could thus speak of this exquisite song.

P. 86, ll. 1, 2, **when they have feared** **danger**, when they have expressed their fears and hopes as to their sister's situation.

ll. 3, 4, **the Elder** **philosopher**, i.e. instead of hurrying, as they might be expected to do, to succour their sister.

ll. 8, 9 **the Brother** **rhyming**, ll. 494-500.

ll. 11, 2, **of nouse** **Being**, what Johnson means by saying that the narrative is "false," it is difficult to tell, and therefore to judge as to the suitability or otherwise of the epithet.

l. 14, **generous**, noble.

l. 17, **wants**, needs, lacks.

l. 18, **a brisker** **replies**, a dialogue in which objections and replies are bantered about in brisk and pithy alternation, not drawn out in lengthy argument.

l. 21, **harsh** **numbers**, perhaps only Johnson could so have criticized the Spirit's song "Sabrina fair," ll. 859-889, Sabrina's song, ll. 890-901, and all the melody thence to the end of the poem.

l. 22, **figures**, hopes, metaphors.

l. 23, **too luxuriant** for dialogue, not sufficiently concise.

l. 24, **inelegantly splendid**, too ornate in language and metaphor to deserve the praise of elegance.

l. 28, **eighth and the twenty-first**, the former "When the Assault was intended to the City," the latter addressed to Cyriack Skinner.

l. 30. **however adapted**, even though it be excellently suited.

ll. 31, 2. **which having ... termination**, so large a proportion of the Italian vocabulary ending in vowels. Though there are some splendid sonnets in English, such as those of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and others, this form of poetry has never adapted itself to the language with the success it has met with in Italy.

l. 34. **anxiety**, careful attention and examination.

P. 57, l. 5. **assemblage**, combination.

ll. 15-7. **from policy ... character**, from the conduct of men in pursuing their objects, and from the rules that govern their manner of life, he must learn how characters are to be distinguished from each other.

l. 18. **physiology**, the science of nature, the science based upon an inquiry into the nature of things.

l. 20. **capable of painting ... fiction**, capable of depicting nature as it actually is, and of presenting as a reality what has existence in the fancy only.

ll. 21, 2. **has attained ... language**, has mastered the full capacity of the language in which he writes.

l. 23. **the colours of words**, the various shades of meaning that a word possesses.

ll. 22-5. **learned ... moderation**, learned to use his words in such a way that their different sounds may harmonize with the various changes that may be rung upon metrical arrangements: **moderation**, here modification, adjustment.

l. 26. **Bossu**, a French critic of the seventeenth century, of whom Mulgrave "has thought fit to say that we should have stared, like Indians, at Homer, if Bossu had not taught us to understand him. The book is, however, long since forgotten; and we fancy that we understand Homer not the worse .. Bossu is judicious and correct in taste, but without much depth" ... (Hallam, *Literary History*, iv. p. 305).

l. 27. **fable**, story.

l. 28. **only of Milton**, purists would demand that we should say 'of Milton only.'

l. 29. **is incidental and consequent**, arises out of the story incidentally and not of set purpose.

l. 30. **intrinsic**, necessarily involved, inherent.

l. 31. **to vindicate**, to justify, show to be in accordance with the highest justice; "what in me is dark I illumine, what is low raise and support: That to the highth of this great argument, I may assert Eternal Providence, And justify the ways of God to men," P. L. i. 22-6.

ll. 35, 6. **surprise expectation**, take expectation unawares, arrest attention and startle the expectant mind by something for which it was not prepared.

P. 58, l. 5. **any recital**, *sc.* of particular events.

l. 10. **the conduct of a colony**, the leading forth, or planting, of a colony.

l. 15. **reasonable**, endowed with the faculty of reason.

l. 22. **with whose actions consented**, to the performance of whose actions the elemental powers of nature were made subservient, were adapted in their creation.

ll. 29-31. **of which . . . regions**, *P. L.* vi. 219-24 : arm him, arm himself : **regions**, the realms over which they reigned.

P. 59, l. 9. **Raphael**, "the affable Archangel," as he is called in *P. L.* vii. 41.

l. 10. **of easy communication**, readily condescending, submitting his dignity, to free intercourse with the inferior nature of created man.

l. 11. **Michael**, "of celestial armies prince," *P. L.* vi. 44. His character is displayed at length in his intercourse with Adam in bk. xi. **attentive to**, always regarded of, carefully preserving the, etc.

l. 17. **the most being**, a being who is at the same time most exalted in his original nature, and has sunk to the lowest depths of wickedness by his rebellion against God.

l. 20. **which no justify**, which cannot be justified by the necessity of analyzing and depicting character.

l. 23. **taint**, repel by horror.

l. 26. **with great happiness**, skilfully, felicitously.

ll. 29, 30. **foams obstinacy**, bursts forth in paroxysms of, etc.

ll. 30, 1. **and no otherwise wicked**, are offensive only so far as they are wicked, not from being such as shock us by insolence towards God.

l. 34. **Moloch**, "First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears," *P. L.* i. 392, 3.

P. 60, l. 6. **Fruition**, the enjoyment of all they could desire.

l. 12. **soften to repentance**, gradually soften in their obstinacy till at length they became repentant.

l. 13. **diligently**, carefully.

l. 15. **vulgar**, ordinary, as opposed to one dealing with such subjects as that of *Paradise Lost*.

l. 16. **which immerge consideration**, which demand of the critic the keenest consideration.

ll. 19, 20. **the probable**.. **probable**, that in which we recognize probability is marvellous, that which is marvellous in its appearance is also probable to our imagination from what we can infer of God's nature; the two things which in an ordinary epic are distinct, are in *Paradis Lost* interwoven with each other.

l. 23. **adventitious**, not necessarily inherent.

ll. 24, 5. **But the main** ... **supported**, but the poem as a whole is based upon foundations of eternal truth.

l. 26. **It is** ... **Addison**, in the *Spectator*, No. 273.

l. 32. **Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς**, literally 'the god from the machine,' a theatrical contrivance to represent the coming down of a god, the Latin *deus ex machina*; the introduction of some god to effect results which human agency could not bring about.

l. 36. **the rule**, such as is laid down by Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 191, 2, "Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit," nor let the interference of a god be resorted to on the stage, unless some difficulty arise demanding such a solution.

P. 61, l. 4. **Raphael's** .. **heaven**, *P. L.* v. 563-907, vi., the whole.

ll. 4, 5. **Michael's** ... **world**, *P. L.* xi. 453, etc.

l. 6. **the great action**, the main action of the poem.

ll. 9, 10. **it has distinctly** ... **end**, as laid down in Aristotle's *Poetics*; a **beginning**, *sc.* the war in Heaven and the fall of the rebel angels; a **middle**, *sc.* the creation of earth and its inhabitants; an **end**, *sc.* the banishment of Adam and Eve from Paradise in consequence of their sin.

l. 13. **funeral games**, such as those related in Virgil's *Aeneid*, bk. v. **description of a shield**, as that of Achilles in the *Iliad*, viii. 461-617.

l. 14. **The short digressions** .. **books**, where Milton refers to himself and the circumstances in which the poem was written; iii. 1-55, vii. 1-39, ix. 20-47.

l. 18. **a little** ... **himself**, personal revelations by which we might know something of the poet himself.

l. 19. **extrinsic**, not necessarily belonging to the subject of the poem.

l. 26. **intituled**, the older spelling of the word we now write 'entitled,' and closer to the Latin form.

l. 27. **indecently**, in unbecoming language.

l. 31. **Cato**, Uticensis, who put an end to himself rather than fall into the hands of Cæsar.

l. 32. **Lucan**, a Roman poet born at Corduba in Spain, A.D. 39, author of an heroic poem, the *Pharsalia*, narrating the struggle between Cesar and Pompey.

ll. 32. 3. **but Lucan's** ... **decide**, but the fact of Lucan having adopted as his hero one who, like Cato, was unsuccessful is not in Quintilian's opinion a sufficient authority for the practice; **Quintilian**, M. Fabius, the most celebrated of the Roman rhetoricians, born A.D. 40.

P. 62, l. 1. **scheme and fabrick**, plan and construction.

l. 3. **appropriated**, fitted, adjusted.

l. 7. **admits** ... **manners**, Adam and Eve being till then situated as none of their descendants, the human race, have been situated.

l. 11. **his singularity of virtue**, "the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found; Among the faithless faithful only he; Among innumerable false unmoved, Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified, His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal," *P. L.* v. 896-900.

l. 12. **accommodated**, made applicable to.

ll. 13. **Raphael's reproof**, *P. L.* viii. 159-178.

ll. 13. 4. **curiosity** ... **motions**, inquisitive desire to be made acquainted with, etc., *P. L.* viii. 13-38.

ll. 14. 5. **may be confidently opposed**, may be compared without any fear of being surpassed.

ll. 17, 8. **in the progress**, *sc.* of the narrative.

l. 21. **curiosity**, inquiring spirit.

ll. 21. 2. **to sublimate**, to refine and elevate: a technical term in alchemy.

ll. 22. 3. **to throw** ... **science**, so as to permeate his work with the essential and spiritual part of science.

l. 29. **his element**, the element in which he is at home.

l. 30. **his natural port**, the carriage or demeanour which is natural to him.

P. 63, l. 1. **enforcing**, forcibly impressing upon his readers.

ll. 4. 5. **without extravagance**, without incurring the charge of being, etc.

l. 13. **new modes of existence**, such as human experience has no acquaintance with.

l. 14. **trace**, track, follow out.

l. 15. **accompany** ... **heaven**, in the music of his poetry afford an accompaniment to the harmony of the angelic chorus; **accompany**, used as a technical term in music for playing on an instrument in company with words to be sung.

ll. 16, 7. **he must ... earth**, *i.e.* it was necessary to the subject of his poem for him to do so.

ll. 22, 3. **from original form**, from Nature herself. **raciness**, spirit, vivid flavour. "*Racy* undoubtedly means indicative of its origin, due to its breed, full of the spirit of its *race*: and so is a derivative of Race [in the sense of lineage]" (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*).

l. 25. **through ... books**, Dryden, *Essay of Dramatic Poetry*.

l. 27. **Enna**, "Not that fair field Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers, Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis Was gathered," *P. L.* iv. 268-71. Persephone, called by the Romans Proserpina, was the daughter of Zeus and Demeter. The story of her being carried off by Pluto (Dis) and being made his queen in the infernal regions is not mentioned by Homer, but appears first in Hesiod's *Theogony*.

l. 29. **the Cyanean rocks**, or Symplegades, two small rocks at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus into the Euxine, are represented in mythology as having once been moveable and as rushing together and crushing every ship that attempted to pass between them. After the Argo had passed through them, they became stationary; "harder beset And more endangered than when Argo passed Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rocks, Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool [Scylla] steered," *P. L.* ii. 1016-20.

ll. 33. **with notice ... vanity**, with due caution being given as to their unreality; they being presented as though actual events.

l. 36. **His similes ... various**, his similes, though less numerous, are drawn from a greater variety of subjects than those, etc.

P. 64, ll. 4-7. **Thus, comparing discovers**, "The broad circumference Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views At evening, from the top of Fesolè, Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands, Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe," *P. L.* i. 286-91.

l. 13. **amiable**, lovable.

l. 19. **may be ... vain**, may be supposed to have had no beneficial influence upon the author.

l. 20. **pravity**, vicious life.

l. 21. **Deliverance of Jerusalem**, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Torquato Tasso, a famous Italian poet, the first complete edition of which was published in 1581. Tasso died in 1595.

l. 24. **train**, order, course.

l. 27. **confirms**, strengthens.

l. 29. **venerable**, deserving of our respect.

l. 34. **in mutual forbearance**, by each yielding somewhat to the other.

P. 65, l. 1. **can only conceive**, form an idea of, but not ~~have~~ in.

l. 5. **whatever be done**, in every circumstance of his narration.

l. 8. **the port suitors**, "Yet their port Not of mean suitors," *P. L.* xi. 8, 9.

ll. 8, 9. **they rise regard**, they again demand of us that reverence of feeling which their fall had forfeited.

ll. 17, 8. **the passions . . . occasion**, the reference is to *P. L.* ix. 1011-6.

l. 20. **argumentative**, as evinced in the arguments of the various disputants.

l. 24. **to discover**, to set forth.

l. 32. **Bentley**, the famous edition by this great classical scholar was published in 1732, and abounds in emendations and corrections which have found little favour with modern criticism.

l. 34. **made them**, imagined their existence.

l. 35. **obtrusions**, thrustings forward.

P. 66, l. 4. **comprises . . . manners**, see note, p. 62, l. 7.

l. 7. **he can be engaged**, can imagine himself taking part.

ll. 13, 4. **in the fallen angels**, in the persons of the, etc.

l. 27. **recede**, avert our thoughts.

l. 36. **too ponderous . . . wit**, such as human intelligence is incapable of extracting.

P. 67, ll. 4, 5. **a new train . . . images**, a succession of images which give a novel impression by the manner in which they connect points of thought.

l. 6. **pregnancy**, vitality, force.

l. 7. **the few radical positions**, the small number of topics of vital importance.

l. 9. **ramified them**, caused them to branch out in different directions.

ll. 10, 1. **from licentiousness of fiction**, from indulging in extravagance of invention.

l. 17. **impregnated**, fertilized and endowed with the capacity for producing ideas.

l. 18. **fermented**, which was fermented, stirred up, raised as bread is by yeast, leaven.

l. 19. **without hyperbole**, without indulgence in the language of exaggeration.

l. 22. **original deficiency**, that which is necessarily wanting from the very nature of the subject; the more modern form is 'deficiency.'

l. 27. **harassed**, troubled in mind by the vastness of the subject.

ll. 33, 4. **instruments of action**, those agencies and media through which alone action is possible to human beings.

P. 68, ll. 2, 3. **perplexed ... philosophy**, mingled philosophy with his poetry in a manner that renders the latter obscure.

l. 5. **When Satan ... marle**, "to support uneasy steps Over the burning marle," *P. L.* i. 295, 6; **marle**, or 'marl,' as we now write it, is a rich, deep-soiled earth.

ll. 8, 9. **animates the toad**, *P. L.* iv. 8.

ll. 10, 1. **starts up ... shape**, "So started up, in his own shape, the Fiend," *P. L.* iv. 819.

l. 12. **spear and shield**, "nor wanted in his grasp What seemed both spear and shield," *P. L.* iv. 989, 90.

l. 15. **Pandæmonium**, "A solemn council forthwith to be held At Pandæmonium, the high capital Of Satan and his peers," *P. L.* i. 755-7.

l. 16. **at large ... number**, "Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large, Though without number still, amidst the hall of that infernal court," *P. L.* i. 789-92.

ll. 18, 9. **crushed ... sinning**, "Their armour helped their harm, crushed in and bruised ... though Spirits of purest light, Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown," *P. L.* vi. 656-61.

ll. 20-2. **The sooner ... remove**, *P. L.* vi. 593-7, "but down they fell ... The sooner for their arms, Unarmed they might Have easily, as Spirits, evaded swift By quick contraction or remove." **the sooner**, here **the** is the ablative of the demonstrative.

l. 26. **Uriel**, "So promised he; and Uriel to his charge Returned on that bright beam, whose point now raised Bore him slope downward to the Sun," *P. L.* iv. 589-91.

l. 27. **Satan ... Adam**, *P. L.* ix. 482-5, "Her husband ... Whose higher intellectual more I shun, And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould."

l. 30. **the book**, the sixth.

l. 36. **abstract ideas**, ideas abstracted, detached, from all concrete being.

P. 69, l. 8. **non-entity**, that which has no existence (*ens*). **Prometheus**, the *Prometheus Vincetus*, a tragedy representing the sufferings inflicted by Zeus upon Prometheus (Forethought), son

of the Titan Iapetus and Clymene, for having carried down fire from heaven and bestowed it upon mortals.

l. 9. **Alcestis**, daughter of Pelias and wife of Admetus who gave up her life to save her husband from death.

l. 13. **allegory of Sin and Death**, told in *P. L.* ii. 648-814.

ll. 22, 3. **no less local**, not less defined as to position.

ll. 26, 7. **a mole** = **asphaltus**. "The aggregated soil Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry, As with a trident smote, and fixed as firm As Delos, floating once; the rest his look Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move, And with asphaltic slime," *P. L.* x. 293-5. The true reading is *aggregated* not *aggravated*.

l. 33. **with great expectation**, with such detailed description that we are led to suppose that some result of importance is at hand; see *P. L.* iv. 877-1015.

P. 70, l. 1. **rife in heaven**, "Space may produce new Worlds; whereof so rife There went a fame in Heaven that He ere long Intended to create," *P. L.* i. 650-2 (Saturn's speech); "There is a place (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven Err not) another World, the happy seat Of some new race, called Man," *P. L.* ii. 345-8 (Beelzebub's speech).

l. 4. **something of anticipation**, some anticipation of a state of things which so far has no existence.

l. 5. **Adam's discourse of dreams**, *P. L.* viii. 287, etc.

l. 7. **his answer**, *P. L.* viii. 179, etc.

ll. 12, 3. **before Adam** = **comparison**, does not as yet having been created and Adam not as yet having experienced the idea of fear. This seems a very minute exception to be taken considering the variety of knowledge which Adam's converse with the angels presupposes.

l. 14. **Dryden remarks**, "Milton's *Paradise Lost* is admirable; but am I therefore bound to maintain that there are no flats among his elevations, when it is evident he creeps along sometimes far above an hundred lines together?" (Preface to the Second Miscellany).

l. 22. **expatiated**, in fancy wandered at large.

ll. 29, 30. **the Paradise of Fools**. "all those, spewhirl'd aloft Fly o'er the backside of the World far off Into a Locus large and broad, since called The Paradise of Fools," *P. L.* iii. 403-6.

l. 33. **equivocations**, see note, p. 52, l. 28.

ll. 34, 5. **his unnecessary** = **art**. "The best fault I shall take notice of in Milton's style is the frequent use of what the learned call technical words or terms of art" (Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 297).

P. 71, l. 5. **not as nice but as dull**, remarkable rather for his dulness of ideas than for his accuracy of observation.

l. 9. **elegant**, gracefully written.

l. 11. **effusions**, pourings forth.

l. 16. **it would ... praise**. *sc.* which its inferiority to *Paradise Lost* makes us refuse.

ll. 20, 1. **with their encumbrance of a chorus**, the Greek drama originated in the choric dances in honour of Dionysus (Bacchus), and in its fuller form the chorus still retained a place, its function being principally to moralize upon the purport of the play and to interpret its movement.

l. 24. **the intermediate parts**, such as the dispute between Samson and his wife, Dalila, the conversations of Samson and his father, Manoah, and the reflections of the Chorus.

l. 31. **in the gross**, as a whole, not by study of individuality.

P. 72, l. 10. **sunk under him**, was not adequate to the sublimity of his subject. The *Spectator*, No. 297, "Our language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul which furnished him with such glorious conceptions."

l. 13. **discovered**, seen.

l. 23. **the Tuscan poets**, Tasso, Dante, Ariosto, etc.

ll. 25, 6. **Jonson ... language**, "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language; yet would I have him read for his matter, but as Virgil read Ennius" (Jonson, *Discoveries*, cxxv.).

l. 27. **Butler**, author of *Hudibras*, in which poem, iii. 93, he speaks of "A Babylonish dialect, which learned pedants much affect"; **Babylonish**, babel-like, confused in language. Cp. *P. L.* xii. 343.

l. 31. **he cannot want**, he cannot be denied.

P. 73, ll. 1, 2. **The measure ... rhyme**, in his prefatory note to *Paradise Lost*.

l. 3. **The Earl of Surrey**, who translated the Second Book of Virgil's *Æneid* into blank verse, and first introduced that form of verse into English poetry.

l. 7. **Raleigh's ... Guiana**, in 1616 Raleigh was liberated from prison in order that he might discover the gold mine in Guiana of which in his previous voyage he had heard rumours.

ll. 10, 1. **Trisino's Italia Liberata**, Trisino, or Trissino, an Italian poet of the first half of the sixteenth century, and the father of blank verse in that country, wrote a poem on the liberation of Italy from the Goths by Belisarius.

ll. 13, 4. **Rhyme ... poetry**, in his preface to *Paradise Lost*,

where he speaks of "rime" as being "but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre."

ll. 14, 5. But perhaps . . . adjunct. Isaiah, for instance, or the Psalms, though not in their English translation metrical in form, are none the less poetry to our understanding.

ll. 22, 3. unless all . . . together. unless the syllables of each line are so adjusted to each other as to produce a harmony of sound.

l. 25. a distinct . . . sounds. a structure of sounds complete in itself and independent for its effect upon our ear of what goes before or comes after.

l. 29. happy, skilful, felicitous.

l. 31. Blank verse . . . eye, only to be distinguished from prose by being written or printed in lines which do not run on in unbroken continuation.

l. 36. lapidary style, see note, p. 6, l. 35.

P. 74, ll. 2, 3. the Italian writers . . . precedents. Milton does not specify any particular poets, though he speaks of them as "poets of prime note."

ll. 14, 5. cannot be said . . . poem, that having been already "contrived" by Homer.

ll. 22-4. he did not refuse . . . them, see Introduction.

l. 29. under discountenance, *i.e.* when, even though his life was safe, he was still under the cloud of the king's ill-favour.

INDEX TO NOTES.

A

- Academies, at Florence, 6. 18.
Accidence Commenced Gram-
mer, 21. 19.
 Act of Oblivion, 28. 36.
 Addison, 62. 10; 70. 34.
 Adjutant-general, 16. 30.
 Alabaster's *Roxana*, 3. 14.
 Alcestis, 69. 9.
 Anglesea, Earl of, 42. 2.
Apologia pro Rege, etc., 21. 8.
Arcades, 5. 33.
Arcadia, Sidney's, 17. 22.
Areopagitica, 15. 13.
 Arethuse, 51. 29.
 Aristotle's *Poetics*, 61. 10.
 Arminianism, 47. 2.
 Arthur, Epic of, 24. 7.
 Articles, subscription to, 4. 28.
 Ascham, 3. 10.
 Assembly of Puritan Divines,
 14. 13.
 Atterbury, 44. 20.
 Attorney-general, 29. 9.
 Aylmer, 38. 35.

B

- Babylonish, 72. 27.
 Backsword, 44. 36.
 Barberini, Cardinal, 7. 7.
 Barbican, 16. 3.

- Battening, 52. 7.
 Baudius, 47. 5.
 Benson, 44. 12.
 Bentley, 65. 32.
 Betterton, 29. 29.
 Blank verse, 40. 2.
 Bossu, 57. 26.
 Bramhal, 21. 13.
 Bread Street, 2. 13.
 Bulls, the Pope's, 43. 25.
 Bunhill Fields, 31. 11.
 Butler, 72. 27.

C

- Calvinistical, 46. 36.
 Cato, 61. 31.
 Chalfont, 38. 1.
 Chalkstones, 33. 20.
 Chaplain in hand, 13. 2.
 Chamber milliner, 16. 12.
 Chamber practice, 2. 1.
 Chorus, 71. 20.
 Christina, Queen, 19. 21.
 Circe, 5. 18.
Colasterion, The, 14. 20.
 Commenced monarch, 19. 14.
 Composure, 33. 34.
Comus, 5. 14.
 Conduct, 58. 10.
 Court-cupboard, 13. 14.
 Cowley, 2. 30; 9. 34.

Curfew, 53. 23.
Cyanean rocks, 63. 29.

D

Dante's Eneid, 8. 26.
Despatch, 35. 14.
Dei Poesie, etc., 18. 17.
— *Poesie*, 18. 16.
— *Sonnet*, 21. 21.
Deference, 67. 22.
Diodati, 3. 28.
Discontentment, 37. 9.
Distresses of rhyme, 37. 2.
Dryden, 63. 25 ; 70. 14.

E

Elegies, Milton's, 34. 14.
Elwood, 31. 26.
Enna, 63. 27.
Epistles, *Familiar*, 43. 33.
Equivocations, 52. 28 ; 70. 33.
Exercises, 3. 15.
Extenuate, 16. 17.

F

Father of one's country, 22. 14.
Familiar Epistles, 43. 33.
Fenton, Abridgement of Mil-
ton's Life, 1. 4.

G

Galileo, 8. 7.
Gallinaceus, 18. 28.
Godfrey of Monmouth, 41. 26.
Georgick, *The*, 9. 28.
Goodwin, 29. 14.
Gray's Inn, 11. 11.
Grey fly, 52. 6.
Griffiths, 28. 17.
Grotius, 6. 12.

H

Hackney, 21. 2.
Haddon, 3. 10.

Hall, 11. 18.
Hartlib, 4. 7.
Harrington, 28. 12.
Hebrew, two dialects of, 46. 18.
Hellibore, 34. 28.
History of England, Milton's,
23. 20.
Hobbes, 18. 18.
Holstenius, 7. 5.
Horton, 5. 9.
Howel, 14. 21.

I

Icon Basilike, 17. 19.
Iconoclasm, 17. 23.
Il Penseroso, 16. 1.
Incontinence, charge of, against
Milton, 12. 32.
Independents, the, 14. 26.
Inns of Court, 6. 4.

J

Jacobus, the coin, 18. 18.
Jerusalem Delivered, 64. 21.
Jewin Street, 30. 27.
Jonson, 72. 25.
Justice of the peace, 13. 17.
Juxon, Bishop, 17. 32.

K

Kecking, 12. 24.

L

L'Allegro, 16. 1.
Lands forfeited, 4. 12.
Lapidary style, 6. 35 ; 73. 36.
Latin Dictionary, 23. 21.
Latin Secretary, 17. 20.
Larg, Lady Margaret, 13. 28.
L'Estrange, 28. 16.
Licensers of books, 38. 9.
Long Parliament, 41. 36.
Luan, 61. 32.

Lucifer, 25. 19.
Lucca, 8. 15.
Ludicrous, 37. 29.

M

Manso, 7. 26.
Marle, 68. 5.
Marvell, Andrew, 29. 25.
Masque, 5. 14.
Milton's ancestry, 1. 12.
— imprisonment, 30. 19.
— life at Cambridge, 3. 19.
— school, 10. 31.
Milton, Christopher, 1. 25.
Morus, 21. 21, etc.
Mysteries, the, 24. 11.

N

Nemesis, 18. 33.

O

Œstrum, 36. 8.
Oppugners, 43. 6.
Ormond, Articles of Peace, 17.
18.
Orpheus, 54. 15.

P

Pandemonium, 68. 15.
Paradise Lost, begun, 32. 14.
— finished, 38. 2.
— sale of, 40. 14.
Paradise of Fools, 70. 29.
Paradise Regained, 42. 4.
Paradoxical, 10. 22.
Pedantic, 10. 21.
Persona, 18. 31.
Philips, Edward, 2. 6.
— John, 44. 16.
Philippi Responsio, 21. 12.
Pigmies, 35. 36.
Politian, 2. 26.
Polybius, 3. 6.
Posies, 13. 10.
Port, 62. 30; 65. 8.

Prebendary, 21. 19.
Prelacy, 11. 32.
Presbyterians, the, 14. 26.
Proceed, 4. 7.
Projectors, 9. 31.
Prologue, 55. 19.
Prometheus, 69. 8.
Ptisical, 13. 16.

Q

Queasy, 12. 24.

R

Raciness, 63. 23.
Raleigh, 62. 7.
Ramified, 67. 9.
Ramus, 43. 4.
Reading, in Berkshire, 13. 14.
Ready and Easy Way, etc.,
28. 7.
Regii Sanguinis Clamor, 21. 17.
Regicides, 37. 22.
Retch, 4. 24.
Revival of letters, 3. 8.
Rhyme, 72. 13.
Richardson, 29. 27.
Rota, the, 28. 14.

S

Salmacis, 18. 25.
Salmasius, 18. 5.
Salsilli, 7. 9.
Samson Agonistes, 41. 4.
Schools, the, 43. 8.
Scrivener, 1. 16.
Scudamore, Lord, 6. 11.
Selvaggi, 7. 9.
Seraphim, 12. 4.
Shotover Forest, 1. 11.
Sienna, 7. 3.
Simmons, 38. 14.
Sizar, 2. 22.
Smectymnuus, 11. 21.
Spa, 20. 9.
Sprat, Bishop, 44. 17.
Spread Eagle, 2. 10.

Sublimate, 62. 21.
 Sultry horn, 52. 6.
 Surrey, Earl of, 73. 3.
Sylvia, 50. 32.

T

Tenure of Kings, etc., 17. 6.
Tetrachordon, 14. 10.
 Thumbbring, 13. 9.
 Toland, 28. 2.
Treatise of Civil Power, etc.
 27. 30.
 Tract, on Divorce, 14. 8.
 — Disestablishment, 4. 11.
 — Prelaty, 11. 24.
 Trisino, 73. 10.
 Turkish contempt, 48. 24.

U

Unparadised, 26. 4.
 Usher, Archbishop, 11. 23.

V

Vapulandum, 19. 1.
 Vomited out, 12. 13.

W

Waller, Sir W., 16. 30.
 Whitsuntide, 13. 15.
 Wood, 33. 16.
 Wotton, 6. 7.

1

C
C
C
C

F
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P
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P
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